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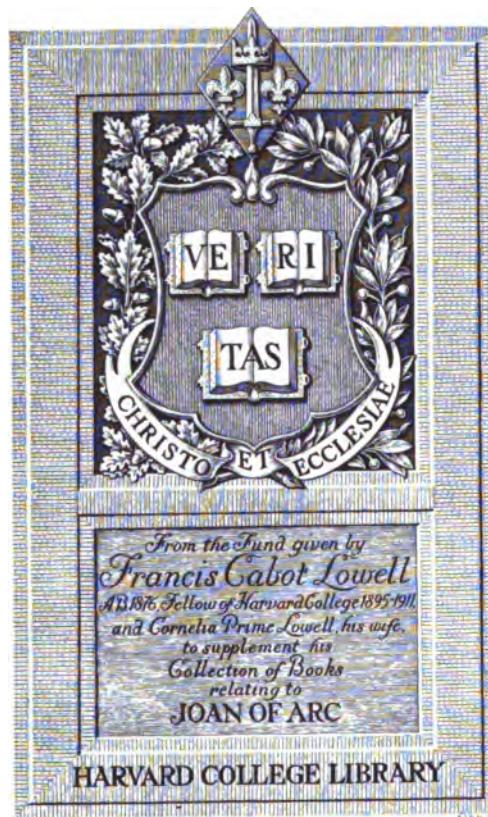
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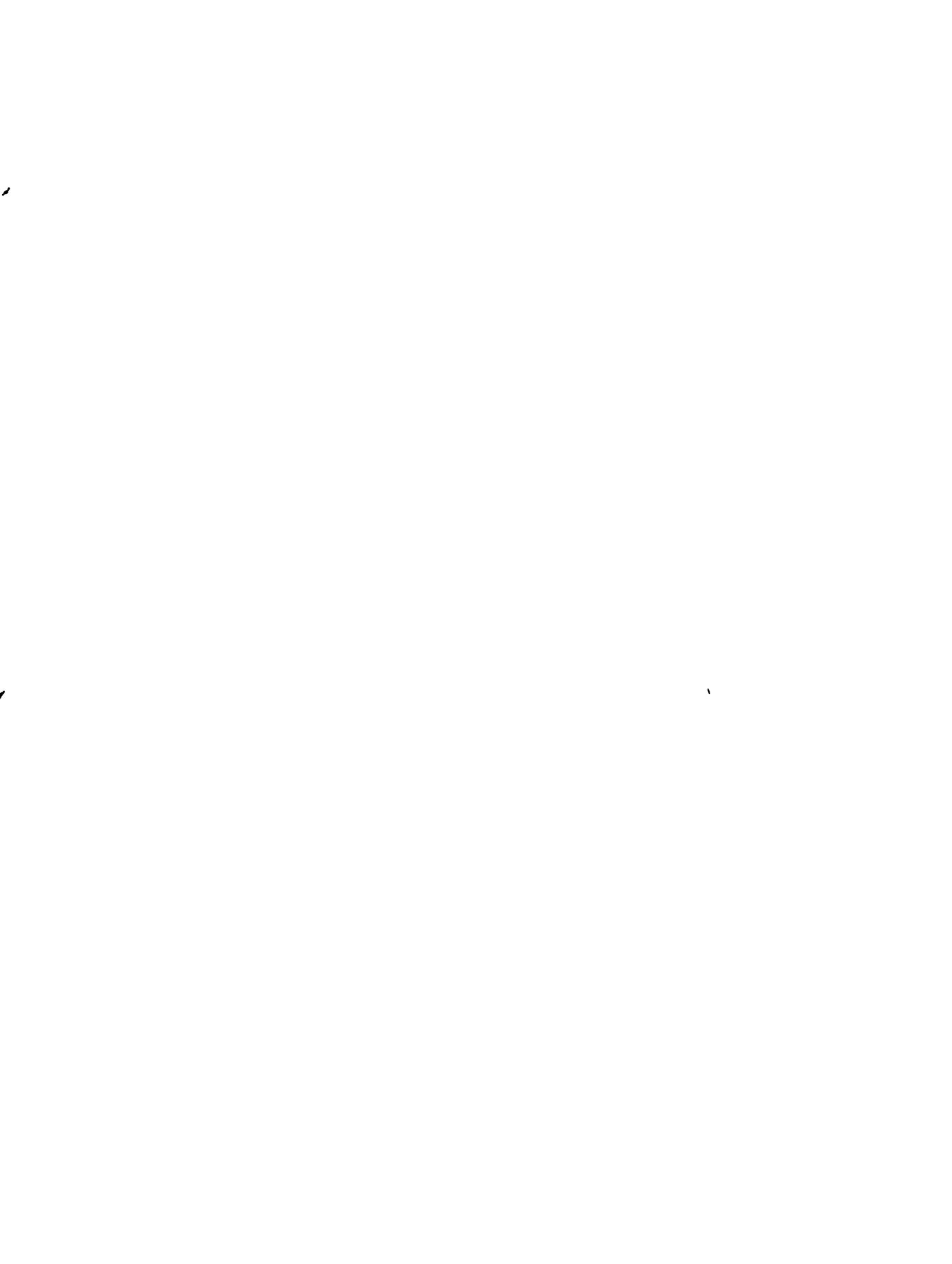
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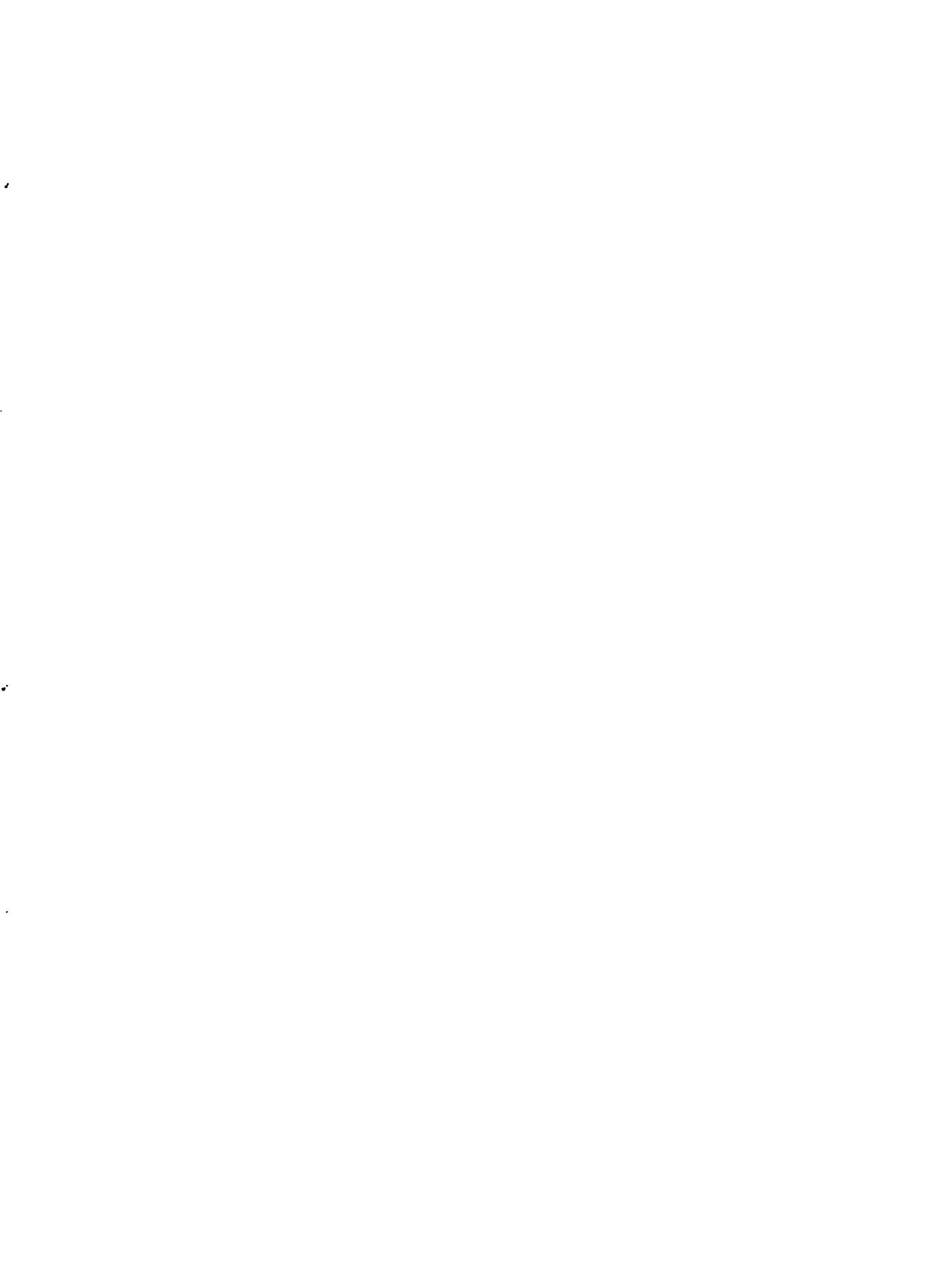
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WITH
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JANUARY 1905

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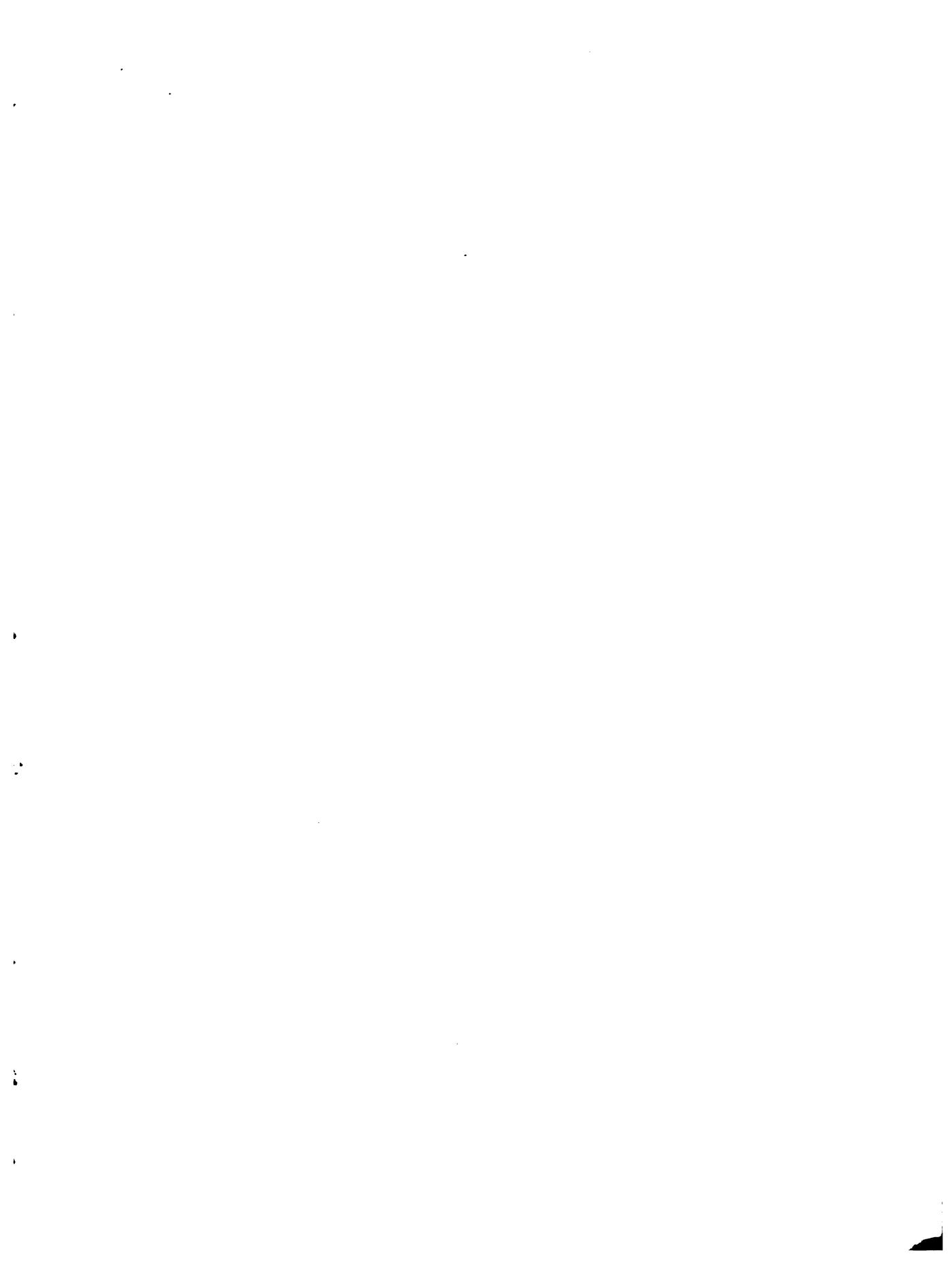
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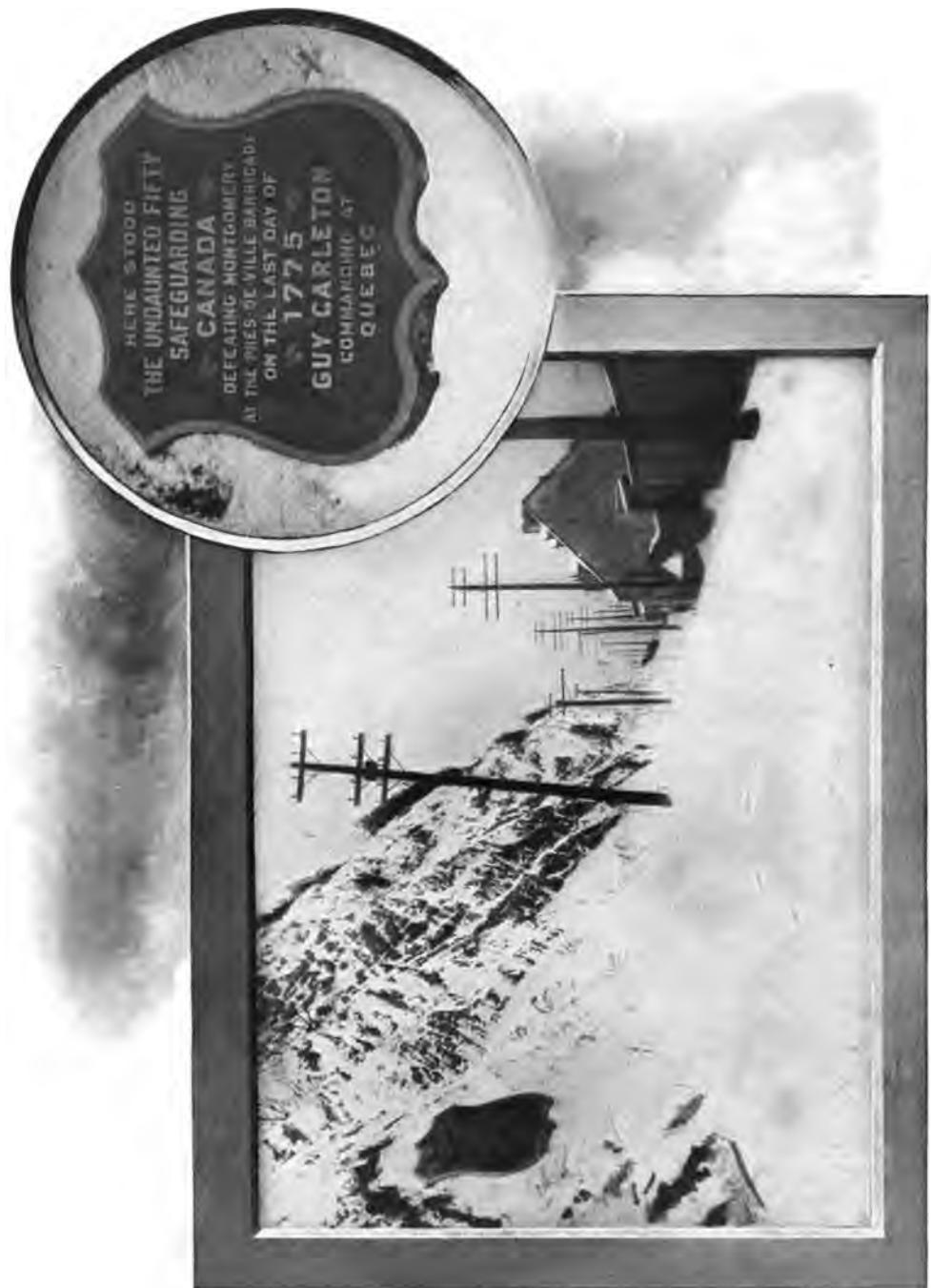
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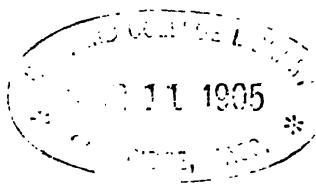
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VOL. I

JANUARY 1905

No. 1

THE ORIGIN OF THE MASSACHUSETTS MILITIA

PRIOR to the outbreak of the Revolution the militia of the Province of Massachusetts Bay was governed by the provisions of an act for regulating the militia, passed in 1693. Although quaint and antiquated in its provisions, it seems to have sufficed for all practical purposes; and no other act was passed regulating the militia until the Provincial Congress, almost at the beginning of its sittings, took steps to place the militia of the Province upon a different basis in order to find themselves prepared for the impending contest with the mother country, which at that date, October, 1774, was patent to all men as an unavoidable conflict.

It may be interesting to note some of the provisions and requirements that governed the militia during the Province period under the old act referred to. The act provided that all male persons from sixteen years of age to sixty, with certain exceptions, should bear arms and duly attend all musters and military exercises of the respective troops and companies wherein they were listed, allowing three months' time to every son, next after his coming to sixteen years of age, and to every servant for the same period after his time was out, to provide themselves with arms, ammunition, etc. It also provided that, if any person liable to be listed as aforesaid—*i. e.*, as a member of any troop or company, in the precinct or town where he resided—should avoid service by shifting from house to house or place to place, to avoid being listed as a member of a troop or company, he should be fined ten shillings for every offence, the money to be paid over to the company to which he belonged. Regimental musters, except in Boston, were to be held but once in three years; but the act provided that every captain, or chief officer, of a company or troop, should draw forth his company or troop four days annually, and no more; to exercise them in motions, the use of arms, and shooting at marks, or other military exercises. The punishment for any disorders or contempt committed by any member of a company on a training day or on a watch was to be by

laying neck and heels, riding the wooden horse, or ten shillings' fine. The exemptions from training included the members of the Council, the Representatives for the time being, the Secretary, Justices of the Peace, the President, Fellows, students, and servants of Harvard College, Masters of Art, ministers, elders, and deacons of churches, sheriffs, physicians, surgeons, and professed schoolmasters, all such as had held commissions and served as field officers or captains, lieutenants or ensigns, coroners, treasurers, the Attorney-General, deputy sheriffs, clerks of courts, constables, constant ferrymen, and one miller to each gristmill. In addition there were exempted officers employed in connection with the Crown Revenue service, all masters of vessels of thirty tons and upwards, constant herdsmen, persons lame or otherwise disabled in body (on production of a certificate from two surgeons), Indians and negroes. It also provided that where any person could not provide his own arms, corn or other merchantable provision or vendable goods, to the extent of one-fifth part more than the value of the arms and ammunition, might be proffered to the clerk of the company, who was authorized to sell it and thus provide the person with the necessary arms. In case any were too poor to even supply merchandise, the arms were to be provided from the town stock. It also provided that a stock of powder and ammunition should be held in every town, and from time to time be renewed by the Selectmen. The necessary stock of powder, arms, and ammunition, was to be secured by a rate equally and justly laid upon the inhabitants and estates in such towns; and the rate for this purpose was collected by the constables, who were authorized, in case of non-payment, to distrain as for other rates. Under this act the militia of the Province were governed, and from the militia so authorized were raised the troops who formed the contingent of provincials in the various expeditions against Canada, and proved their natural military capacity and their inherent quality as good soldiers at the siege of Louisburg, the expedition against Crown Point, and upon other occasions, as well as in various minor engagements with the Indian enemy upon the eastern and western frontiers of the Province.

After the events of the Stamp Act and when it became a certainty that the colonists could hope for nothing from the tyrannical ministry of Great Britain, and all thinking men faced the possibility of armed resistance to the mother country, it became necessary for those foreseeing the event and in the forefront of the Revolutionary party to provide a more elastic instrument and one more responsive to their urgent needs than could be looked for under the old militia act. Accordingly, in the first Provincial Congress, on the 26th of October, 1774, a committee appointed to consider

what was necessary to be done for the defence and safety of the Province made a report upon which a resolve was immediately passed, making provision for the appointment of a Committee of Safety, who were empowered and directed to alarm, muster, and cause to be assembled, with the utmost expedition, such and so many of the militia of the Province, completely armed and equipped, as they might judge necessary for any contingency they might be called upon to confront. Provision was made for the pay and subsistence of any force that might be so assembled, and for the appointment of general officers, inasmuch as some of the officers holding commissions under crown appointments might have, and no doubt did hold, what were at the time conservative opinions concerning the causes that had led to the bitter feeling between the people of the Colonies and the ministers of Great Britain. It was resolved that such companies as had not already chosen officers should do so forthwith; and, where said officers should judge the districts included within the regimental limits too extensive, they should divide them and adjust their limits, and proceed to elect field officers to command the regiments, so called. The effect of this action, when carried out, was to practically redistrict the whole militia of the Province, and provide them with company officers and field officers that were in sympathy with the popular feeling; and this change took effect upon the initiative of what was practically a convention of delegates from the people, who had assembled in response to a call to take measures to save the Province from what they considered violation of their rights and privileges, and from aggressive militarism.

THE MINUTE-MEN: WHAT THEY WERE

It was at the same time provided that one-quarter, at least, of the respective companies in every regiment should be formed into companies of fifty privates at the least, who were to equip and hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice from the Committee of Safety upon any emergency. Each company so formed was to choose a captain and two lieutenants, and they were to be grouped in battalions to consist of nine companies each and the captains and subalterns of each battalion were to elect field officers to command them. These were the minute-men, and were organized under this resolve, nearly six months before the affair of April 19, 1775; and the promptness with which they assembled in response to the alarm upon that memorable occasion is thereby accounted for. The foregoing statement will also serve to explain what has been a matter of confusion to many people; namely, the distinction between minute-

men and militia. The minute-men, while of the militia, were, for a short time at the beginning of the war, a distinct body under a separate organization. A minute-man was a member of the militia who had engaged himself, with others, to march at a moment's warning; while a militiaman was one who had not so engaged, and yet was equally liable to be called upon for service, when the Committee of Safety should deem it necessary to order out the militia. It happened, therefore, that companies of minute-men and companies of militia from the same town responded under different commanders to the alarm of April 19, 1775. The service of one was as patriotic as that of the other; but the minute-men were under special engagement to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning, and you may assume that they were, as a rule, the youngest, most active, and most patriotic members of their respective communities.

In December, 1774, a patriotic address by the committee on the state of the Province was accepted by the Provincial Congress, and a copy thereof sent to all the towns and districts in the Province. In this address after a recital of the grievances and oppressions laid upon the people, and of the necessity of guarding their rights and liberties, it was recommended that particular care should be taken by each town and district to equip each of the minute-men not already provided therewith with an effective firearm, bayonet, pouch, knapsack, thirty rounds of ball cartridges and that they be disciplined three time a week and oftener, as opportunity might offer. The militia in general were also not to be neglected, and their improvement in training and drill was strongly recommended. Thus early before open hostilities were declared did the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts take prompt and energetic measures to place themselves upon a military footing, so as not to be taken at a disadvantage when the shock of armed strife should occur.

The second Provincial Congress in February, 1775, confirmed the powers of the Committee of Safety, to whom all military matters were directly intrusted, repeated the recommendations of the previous Congress relative to the militia, and appointed four general officers. The commanding officer of each regiment of minute-men, as well as the colonels of the militia regiments, were recommended to review their respective commands and to make return of their number and equipment. Six days before the 19th of April the Committee of Safety was authorized to form six companies of the train of artillery already provided by the Colony, to immediately enter upon a course of discipline and be ready to enter the service whenever an army should be raised.

The events of the historic 19th of April, 1775, brought matters to a crisis more rapidly than had been anticipated; and, following that incursion of the British troops (*excursion* it is sometimes called in the quaint language of the day, although one would hardly term it a pleasant one), the Provincial Congress resolved that an army of 13,600 men should be raised immediately by the Province of Massachusetts Bay. A few days later it was moved and passed that the companies in each regiment should consist of fifty-nine men, including three officers, and that each regiment should consist of ten such companies.

The militia and minute-men, as reorganized and prepared in accordance with the directions of the Provincial Congress, responded with marvellous promptitude when the call to arms came. Within ten days after the battle of Lexington between fifteen and twenty thousand men had assembled at Cambridge and Roxbury. But it was an armed assemblage rather than an army. There was practically no cohesion beyond the company organization. They were not accustomed to act with other units as battalions or regiments. There was no term or limit of service prescribed or that could be required of these men that came forward in response to the alarm. Their own patriotic fervor or the persuasiveness of their officers made the measure of their stay in the service. It was, in consequence, a fluctuating force from day to day, with arrivals and departures in constant progress. The problems involved in making it a united or cohesive force for either aggression or defence would drive the modern military man frantic. Yet of necessity this force had to serve as the nucleus of the army it was proposed to raise to serve for eight months or to December 31, 1775.

The method of recruiting seems odd in these days, but in reality it was simple enough and was effective at the same time. "Beating orders," as they were called, were issued to captains and lieutenants, or rather to those desiring to be commissioned in such capacities; and, upon their securing the specified number of men agreeing to serve under them, they were accepted with their men, and their commissions assured to them. In this way the men practically chose their officers, while at the same time each officer in a regiment from the colonel down became his own recruiting officer, captains and lieutenants in order to fill up their company strength, and colonels in order to obtain their full quota of companies. No commissions were issued to any regiment until it was completed. It was this practice that caused several New Hampshire companies to be embodied in Massachusetts regiments.

The effectiveness of this method of enlistment can best be judged by

the fact, officially verified, that commissions had been issued to the officers of fifteen regiments, they having at that time the proper complement of men. It could not be expected, under the conditions that prevailed, that an army so hastily gotten together and formed from small local organizations, totally unused to acting in masses under any military system as regiments or brigades, should have presented, either in the matter of discipline or equipment, anything that would commend itself to the trained military man. One thing, however, all those who had assembled, whether as minute-men or militia, possessed in common; and that was the patriotic determination to resist by every means in their power any further encroachment upon their rights and liberties. A goodly number of the recruits and many of the officers had served in the expeditions against Canada; and these were sufficient to leaven the mass, and communicate by example and precept something of the military spirit to their younger comrades who had never rendered service in the field. At that time the army was a Massachusetts army, and in fact it is so termed in the official documents. The regiments were really what would be designated in these days as State regiments, being enlisted, officered, and maintained entirely by Massachusetts. There was no lack of officers of the higher grades, as there were provided in addition to the general officers previously named as having been appointed in making the establishment for the organization of the army, May 23, 1775, one lieutenant-general, two major-generals, four brigadier-generals, two adjutant-generals, and two quartermaster-generals.

By June 13, 1775, it had been resolved that twenty-three regiments should be commissioned, exclusive of one regiment of artillery, which latter was to consist of ten companies, and had already been partly organized. Such were the constituent parts of the army organized by Massachusetts inside of two months after the 19th of April, 1775, from her local militia; and it was these same raw and undisciplined levies, assisted by the contingents from the neighboring Colonies, which had assembled at Cambridge and Roxbury upon news being conveyed to them that Massachusetts had accepted the gage of battle, who time after time repelled the attacks of picked regiments of troops of Great Britain, until compelled to leave the field by lack of ammunition upon the seventeenth day of June, 1775. No better test of the mettle of the American militiaman, when converted into a soldier, can be conceived than was furnished upon that day when a number of these hastily organized regiments met and shrank not from the attack of trained soldiers. Although, naturally enough, regarded as a defeat, and, therefore, in a measure discreditable to the provincials, so much so that in after years veteran survivors cared not to exploit their participa-

tion in the battle, it really had a tremendous moral effect upon each side, the provincials being assured thereafter that under anywhere near like equal conditions they could defeat the British, while for the enemy there resulted the enforced conviction that the colonists were not unworthy foes, and that like victory would be altogether too dearly bought.

The encouragement offered to men to enlist into the eight months' service would hardly be considered in the light of a very extravagant bounty in these days. The Provincial Congress provided that a woollen coat should be supplied to every soldier who enlisted, in addition to his wages and travel allowance. These coats were to be provided by the different towns throughout the Province; and a schedule was made up, allotting a definite number to be furnished by each town. They were to be of a uniform pattern, as far as the style of the coat was concerned; but apparently the only distinctive military attachment in connection with them was the buttons, which it was enacted should be of pewter and bear the regimental number, when the coats were distributed to the men belonging to the different organizations. It may well be imagined that this method of securing coats did not result in very prompt delivery, and in consequence it was provided later in the year that soldiers might receive a money equivalent for the value of the coat. Inasmuch as many of the men served the full term of their enlistment without ever being gratified with the sight of the promised bounty coat, it is not to be wondered at that thousands of them accepted the money equivalent, and received it in some instances after the expiration of their term of service. With the appointment of Washington as commander-in-chief by the Continental Congress, the Massachusetts army, raised as I have described, together with the levies raised by the other Colonies, became a part of the Continental establishment. The eight months' men raised by Massachusetts can properly be regarded accordingly as Continental soldiers, although originally raised under State auspices, without any outside encouragement or assistance. The actual transfer of State stores, supplies, etc., did not take place for some little time after Washington had taken command at Cambridge; and many of the officers exercised the duties of their positions under their State commissions, and did not receive Continental commissions until September or October, 1775.

It may be interesting to note how the effective forces at Washington's disposition compared with the authorized number directed to be raised by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. They had provided for an army of 13,600 men; but on July 10, 1775, Washington expressed his con-

cern at finding the army inadequate to the general expectation and the duties which might be required of it. In this communication he states that the number of men fit for duty of the forces raised by the Province, including all the outposts and artillery, did not amount to 9,000. He also states that the troops raised in the other Colonies were more complete, although they also fell short of their establishment; and his estimate at that time of the total number of men at his disposition available for duty was not more than 13,500. The proportion, however, of the troops furnished by the different Colonies, and composing the army that invested Boston, is shown by a general return, signed by Adjutant-General Horatio Gates in July, 1775. It gives twenty-six Massachusetts regiments (an additional regiment not being completed is not included in the number), four independent companies, also of Massachusetts, with a regiment of artillery, three Connecticut regiments, three New Hampshire regiments, three Rhode Island regiments, and a Rhode Island company of artillery, making altogether a total force of 17,355 men.

At a council of war, July 9, 1775, it was estimated that the force of the enemy amounted to 11,500, and that the army investing Boston ought to consist of at least 22,000 men; and it was recommended, in order to supply the deficiency, that an officer from each company raised in Massachusetts Bay should be sent out to recruit all the regiments up to their standard efficiency as fixed by the Provincial Congress, Rhode Island and Connecticut being at the time engaged in recruiting for the purpose of filling up their quotas of troops to the full establishment. Naturally enough, the commander-in-chief found much to lament over in the deficiencies both as to number and equipment of the army he found almost ready made to his hand, and yet so lacking in all things from a military point of view; but there is little of criticism in his letters of the period, although they are filled with pleadings, expostulations, and exhortations for the purpose of bringing up the army to a desired state of efficiency.

While the enlisted men comprising this eight months' army held the line and were being brought more or less under military discipline and system, there were times when their numbers fell short of the estimated number required for a besieging army, where it was at any time possible that the enemy equal in effective force might make an attack and break the line. It was found necessary from time to time to call forth the local militia from the towns in the vicinity of Boston to do duty for longer or shorter periods; but then, as later, the general officers criticized the efficiency

of the militia thus called upon, as they could not be depended upon for a continuance in camp for any definite period or regularity and discipline during the time they might stay. Such criticism was inevitable, and was applied during the whole term of the Revolutionary War to the militia contingents that were called forth in all the Colonies by the officers commanding the regulars or the Continental forces.

After the expiration of the term of service of the eight months' men a call was made for twelve months' men; and many of those who served the first term or first campaign, as it was called, both officers and men, engaged for the second campaign. The organization of the standing militia thereby became broken up and disrupted by the depletion of the local organizations. It therefore became necessary to make a reorganization and redistricting of the militia of the Province. An act was accordingly passed January 22, 1776, by which this object was attained. It provided that all able-bodied male persons from sixteen years of age to fifty, with certain specified exemptions, in every town and district should be considered members of the train band. The alarm list should consist of all male persons from sixteen years of age to sixty-five, not liable to be included in the train band and not exempted under special provision. Each company was to consist of sixty-eight privates, exclusive of the alarm list, officered by a captain and two lieutenants, non-commissioned officers to be four sergeants, four corporals, with a drummer and fifer for each company. A brigadier-general was directed to be chosen for each county, and under him the field officers of the different regiments were authorized to divide up and district the regiments, each regiment having a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and two majors. Three major-generals were also to be chosen by the Council or House of Representatives. Under this enactment the county regiments were numbered, officered, and their organizations established, and from the standing militia thus provided for all detachments and drafts of Massachusetts militia that were made, either for short terms of service upon alarms or as re-enforcements to the Continental Army, were made during the remaining period of the war. This establishment for the militia continued in force until after the adoption of the State Constitution in 1780.

BOSTON.

JAMES J. TRACY.

(Read before the Massachusetts Sons of American Revolution, 1904.)

A BIT OF CHURCH HISTORY

IT is a subject of hope that some one—perhaps he is already cooing in his cradle and smiling in response to the wondering faces that bend over him—will be inspired to embody in imperishable epic, the adventurous deeds of the Puritan and Pilgrim Fathers in the New World. He must be a child of the Muses. He must have insight to sound the deeper currents of human motive and action, the instinct for dramatic situations, a feeling for the concrete in choice and act, and for the individual man. When that epic appears some cantos of it will relate to the settlements of the Connecticut valley, and among these old Windsor, to the ancient church in which place this brief article relates.

We are fortunate in having a memoir of Captain Roger Clapp, a young man of the company, written expressly for his own descendants, with glowing religious purpose, but in more than one particular illuminating upon the history and spirit of that early enterprise. Mr. Clapp's own case is a fine exhibition of the process of selection and unification by which a party was made up of such as were fitted to undertake together the peculiar task of making a new community in the wilderness. One would readily guess that the relations of the individuals of such a company must be somewhat other than those secured by formal agreements and contracts on paper. They must be bound together by the finest of affinities, by mutual esteem, by the strength of commanding leadership. Add to this, of course, a rugged sense of the call and providence of God. Something of this sort would be essential to business success, not to say social happiness in the communal life of a new settlement; and if what Mr. Clapp says of himself is at all representative, such was actually the case. When a youth, evidently wishing to be self-supporting, he asked leave of his father to live "abroad," and went to live on trial, three miles from Exeter (England). In his own language: "We went every Lord's-Day into the City, where were many famous preachers of the Word of God. I then took such a liking unto the Revd. Mr. John Warham, that I did desire to live near him: So I removed (with my Father's consent) into the city, and lived with one Mr. Mossiour, as famous a Family for Religion as ever I knew; . . . I never so much as heard of New-England until I heard of many godly Persons that were going there, and that Mr. Warham was to go also."

Through Mr. Clapp's personal history we can see in his account of the organization of the church, how here and there the preparatory process had been going on in individual lives, and often unconsciously to themselves men had been getting ready for this joint venture into the New World. I give his account of the organization somewhat fully: "I came out of Plymouth in Devon, the 20th of March, and arrived at Nantasket the 30th of May 1630. Now this is further to inform you, that there came *Many Godly Families* in that ship: We were of Passengers many in Number (besides Sea-men) of good Rank: Two of our Magistrates come with us, viz. Mr. Rossiter and Mr. Ludlow. These godly People resolved to live together; and therefore as they had made choice of these two Revd. Servants of God, Mr. John Warham and Mr. John Maverick to be their Ministers, so they kept a solemn Day of Fasting in the New Hospital in Plymouth in England, spending it in Preaching and Praying: where that worthy Man of God, Mr. John White of Dorchester in Dorset was present, and Preached unto us the Word of God, in the fore-part of the Day, and in the latter part of the Day, as the People did solemnly make choice of, and call those godly Ministers to be their Officers, so also the Revd. Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick did accept thereof, and expressed the same. So we came, by the good Hand of the Lord, through the Deeps comfortably; having Preaching or Expounding of the Word of God every Day for Ten Weeks together, by our Ministers."

This little Israel, which came over the waters, one hundred and forty strong, in the good ship *Mary and John*, a craft of 400 tons, were forced by Capt. Squeb, contrary to his agreement, to disembark in a forlorn place on Nantasket Point. A place of settlement was soon selected and named Dorchester. Attracted by the rich Connecticut meadows, five years later Mr. Warham and the larger portion of his flock made the difficult overland journey thither, and settled in the beautiful region which was afterwards called Windsor by "order of the court." Thus the First Church of Christ in Windsor goes back beyond Dorchester to Plymouth in Old England, and has had a continuous existence from March 20, 1630, to the present as a Congregational Church of what may be called, for lack of a better term, the orthodox or Trinitarian variety—a fact that can be affirmed of no other Congregational Church on the American Continent.

To speak of the members of this church and their numerous descendants, would take us beyond the limits of this article. A few names will suggest the significance of this body of Christians on the banks of the Connecticut, in the life of the nation. Matthew Grant, the clerk of the

church and the town, whose fine records are now in the town clerk's office, was the ancestor of Gen. U. S. Grant and the numerous clans of the Grant family in this country. The hero of Manila Bay is a descendant of Thomas Dewey, of the old Windsor church. Henry Wolcott, a man of wealth and social importance in old England, was the ancestor of the famous Wolcott family, which included two Connecticut governors and men of note in every generation to the present day. Roger Ludlow, the lawyer of the settlement, gave legal shape to the democracy of Thomas Hooker in the Constitution of Connecticut, the first written instrument of the kind on record. Captain John Mason led the federated colonists to the number of eighty men against the Pequots, and by no means least, Esther Warham, the youngest daughter of the minister, a woman of rare charm and remarkable gifts, was the mother of a mighty race, which has been distinguished by many illustrious names, chief among whom must be named her grandson, Jonathan Edwards. Two other men of national renown in quite different directions are Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth and Edward Rowland Sill. Ellsworth was born in Windsor, lived here practically his whole life save, of course, when he was away on public business, and his home still remains, now the property of the Connecticut Society of the D. A. R. He was a devoted member of the church and chairman of the building committee in charge of the erection of the new house of worship in 1794, which still remains in excellent condition. The book containing, among many others, Mr. Ellsworth's subscription of 100 pounds, with that for like amounts by Dr. Chaffee and Jerijah Barber, is in possession of the present treasurer. Edward Rowland Sill, the rare quality of whose poetical genius has won increasing recognition ever since his early death, was a descendant of Rev. David Rowland, one of the old Windsor pastors, and was, by immediate family connections as well as the associations of his own boyhood, a child of the Windsor church, though he spent the larger part of his mature life elsewhere.

WINDSOR, CONN.

ROSCOE NELSON.

ARNOLD AND MONTGOMERY AT QUEBEC

THE last day of December, 1904, was the 128th anniversary of the unsuccessful attack on Quebec in 1775, and by a co-incidence on almost that very day the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec erected two bronze tablets to commemorate the event. We are indebted to Mr. F. C. Würtele, the Secretary of the Society for the photographs from which our two illustrations are made—they thus appearing in our pages in advance even of Canadian journals.

From the newspaper accounts furnished us, we condense:

When the Canadian Government erected monuments on the battle-fields of 1812, the invasion of 1775 seemed to have been forgotten, and no memorials were placed in Quebec to commemorate the signal defeat of the Continental invaders on the 31st of December, 1775, at the hands of General Guy Carleton, the savior of Canada to the British Crown.

However, that brave defence has not been forgotten by Quebec's citizens, and some time ago at a meeting of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, it was resolved, "That the time has come for the erection of historic tablets at Pres-de-Ville and the Sault-au-Matelot, in the lower town of Quebec, relating to the events of 31st of December, 1775, so important to the destiny of Canada; and as it is within the province of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec to erect such memorials, a committee is hereby appointed on the subject.

As such memorials would be battlefield monuments, the Federal Government was petitioned by the society for means to erect suitable historic tablets at these places. The request was graciously responded to and splendid memorials in statuary bronze have been erected, one bolted to the rock where at its base Montgomery was defeated and killed, and the other on the St. James street gable of the Molsons Bank, as near as possible to the site of the Sault-au-Matelot barricade, where Arnold was defeated, and over 400 of his men made prisoners, both events taking place in the early morning of that memorable last day of December, 1775. As these bronzes have been placed in position for the anniversary of that event, a short historic retrospect may be interesting:

One hundred and twenty-nine years have passed since a force under

Montgomery was sent by Lake Champlain to attack Montreal, and another under Arnold marched from Cambridge, Mass., via the Voyageur trail up the Kennebec river and across to the source of the river Chaudiere, to St. Marie and thence by road to Levis opposite Quebec, where, after considerable hardships throughout the whole journey it arrived, and crossing the St. Lawrence appeared on the present Cove Fields, on the 14th, was fired on and soon retired to Pointe aux Trembles, where the arrival of Montgomery from Montreal was awaited.

Montgomery carried all before him, taking Sorel, Montreal and Three Rivers. General Carleton, who was in Montreal, knowing the importance of Quebec, and that for divers reasons Montreal could not then be defended, destroyed the government stores and arrived at Quebec on the 19th of November, where Colonel MacLean, who had preceded him, was preparing for its defence.

The defences were strengthened and barricades erected and armed in the Lower Town, in Sault-au-Matelot street, and the present Sous-le-Cap, also at Pres-de-Ville, where is now the Allan Steamship Company's property.

Montgomery arrived on the 1st of December with his army, and Arnold's 800 raised the attacking force to 2000 men, who proceeded to take possession of St. Roch's and erected batteries on the high ground. Montgomery issued general orders on the 15th December, which were sent into the town, and a copy is now to be found in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa:

(Q. 12. PAGE 30.)

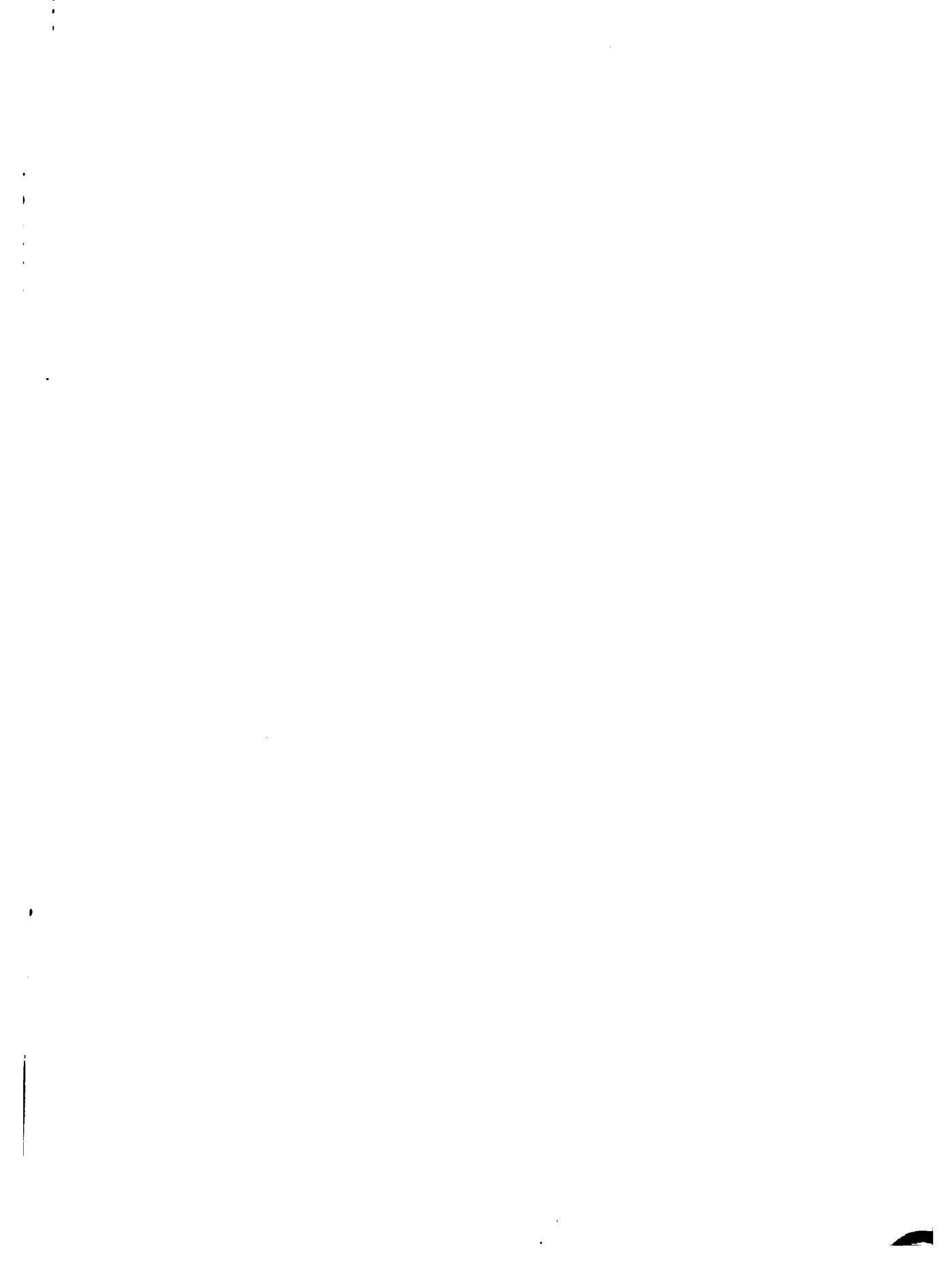
HEADQUARTERS HOLLAND HOUSE, NEAR QUEBEC.

15th December, 1775.

Parole—*Connecticut.*

Countersign—*Adams.*

The General having in vain offered the most favorable terms of accommodation to the Governor and having taken every possible step to prevail on the inhabitants to desist from seconding him in his wild scheme of defence, nothing remains but to pursue vigorous measures for the speedy reduction of the only hold possessed by the Ministerial troops in the Province. The troops flushed with continual success, confident of the





CORNER OF SAULT AU MATELOT AND ST. JAMES STREETS.

Tablet placed by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 1904.
(The second barricade was across Sous Le Cap Street, behind where figure stands.)

justice of their cause and relying on that Providence which has uniformly protected them will advance to the attack of works incapable of being defended by the wretched garrison posted behind them, consisting of sailors unacquainted with the use of arms, of citizens incapable of the soldier's duty and a few miserable emigrants. The General is confident a vigorous and spirited attack must be attended with success. The troops shall have the effects of the Governor, garrison, and of such as have been acting in misleading the inhabitants and distressing the friends of liberty, to be equally divided among them, each to have the one hundredth share out of the whole, which shall be at the disposal of the General and given to such soldiers as distinguished themselves by their activity and bravery, and sold at public auction. The whole to be conducted as soon as the city is in our hands and the inhabitants disarmed.

The General at Headquarters,

FERD. WEISENFELS,

Major of Brigade.

The division which was to attack Pres-de-Ville assembled at 2 o'clock A. M. of the 31st December, at Montgomery's headquarters, Holland House (now the property of Frank Ross, Esq.), and headed by Montgomery, marched across the Plains of Abraham and descended into the beach path, now Champlain street. Those who were to make the attack by the suburbs of St. Roch, headed by Arnold, were about 800 strong. The plan was that Montgomery and Arnold were to meet at the foot of Mountain Hill and storm the Upper Town.

A heavy northeast snowstorm was raging at 4 o'clock that dark morning when Montgomery had descended the cliff and advanced along the narrow beach path, a ledge flanked to the left by the perpendicular cliffs of Cape Diamond and to the right by a precipitous descent at whose base flowed the tide of the St. Lawrence.

The Pres-de-Ville barricade and the blockhouse at the narrowest part of the road was defended by Captain Chabot, Lieut. Picard, 30 Canadian militiamen, Captain Barnesfare and 15 seamen, Sergeant Hugh McQuarters, of the Royal Artillery, with several small guns, and Mr. John Coffin, 50 in all. The garrison was alert and saw the head of the column approach and halt some fifty yards from the barricade, when a man approached to reconnoitre, and on his return the column continued its advance, when it

was fired on by cannon and musketry, whose first discharge killed Montgomery, his aides Macpherson and Cheeseman, and 10 men. Thereupon the rest of the 700 men turned and fled, pursued by the bullets of the Canadians till there was nothing more to fire at. None behind the leading sections knew what happened, and the slain, left as they fell, were buried by the drifting snow, whence their frozen bodies were dug out later in the day.

Arnold's column carried the barricade across Sous-le-Cap street, situated beneath the Half-Moon battery, and were stopped at the second barricade at the end of that narrow street (quite close to where is now Molsons Bank), defended by Major Nairne, Dambourges and others, who held them in check until Captain Laws' strong party, coming from Palace Gate, took them in rear and caused their surrender, 427 in all, thus completing the victory of that morning. Arnold was put out of action early in the fight by a ball¹ from the ramparts near Palace Gate, when passing with the leading sections, and was carried to the General Hospital.

The late Governor-General, Lord Minto, took great interest in the tablets, and approved of the inscriptions which were submitted for his consideration

These tablets, in shield form, are of statuary bronze, with the lettering cast in relief.

The large one on the rock under Cape Diamond measures six feet three inches by five feet nine inches, and is thus inscribed:

¹ In all probability that bullet saved Quebec. Had Arnold not been disabled, his energy and daring would have successfully carried through the attack on the second barricade.

All his subsequent history shows this.

The attack on Quebec failed from four causes: the extraordinary inclemency of the weather, the death of Montgomery, the precipitate retreat by order of Lieut.-Col. Campbell, who was next in rank, and the disabling of Arnold.

The first was contributory only, and the second would not have been conclusive but for Campbell—an officer of whose subsequent career absolutely nothing appears of record.

The fourth was the deciding blow. Even Morgan lacked the decision which would have led Arnold to carry the (second) barricade at all hazards—and that carried, the third must have fallen and with it the city. Had Arnold so much as suspected Morgan's inaction, it is certain he would have remained on the field, and personally directed the assault in which he could not join.

It was his first and last failure. Valcour Island, Saratoga, Ridgefield—all exhibit the vigor of him of whom Mr. Codman justly remarks: "Arnold, with the exception of Ethan Allen, seems beyond all others, to have understood the value of rapid action at the beginning of (he might have said, throughout) a war."—ED.

*Here Stood
The Undaunted Fifty
Safeguarding
Canada
Defeating Montgomery
At the Pres-de-Ville Barricade
On the Last Day of
1775
Guy Carleton
Commanding at
Quebec*

That on Molsons Bank measures two feet ten inches by two feet six inches, and its legend relates:

*Here Stood
Her Old and New Defenders
Uniting, Guarding, Saving
Canada
Defeating Arnold
At the Sault-au-Matelot Barricade
On the Last Day of
1775
Guy Carleton
Commanding at
Quebec*

A "SCRUB-POETICAL" ANSWER TO A GOVERNOR

HIS Excellency Jonathan Belcher, governor of His Majesty's provinces of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, must have many times realized what a very difficult and disagreeable task it is to drive an ill-matched team, especially when one of them is to all appearances possessed of the Evil One, and the pole is loose and not to be depended on. Such a team the governor had in his two provinces, and he was a very busy man.

Massachusetts kept well in the traces and gave him comparatively little trouble. He lived in Boston, and was thus able to maintain a more intimate knowledge of the people of that State and the trend of public opinion than was possible to do in respect to more distant New Hampshire, where he was relatively a stranger. Though not popular as a man or as a Crown official, his personal presence in Massachusetts as governor, with the miniature court, the sumptuous appointments, and the dignity which accompanied the King's commission, necessarily had some effect in steadying the progress of government there.

But in New Hampshire he had many serious problems. A small province both in population and resources, it had for many years stood between Massachusetts and the savages, who were continually hovering about the frontiers, and in this almost constant warfare, and by the costly vigilance which was necessary even in times of nominal peace, the province had incurred debts which were a heavy burden on the sparse population. During the time in which New Hampshire was considered by the Crown not of sufficient size, wealth, and importance to maintain a governor of its own, and accordingly yoked with Massachusetts, the power of granting townships in New Hampshire was, of course, vested in the governor, and exercised by him under the same royal instructions as in Massachusetts. The plans and purposes of the government in locating these grants in New Hampshire are easily seen by their peculiar but systematic location. They were largely laid out in lines, each line of towns answering a specific purpose. One line followed the Merrimack river, Amherst, Bedford, and Goffstown, guarding the west bank of the main inland waterway of the two provinces. Another line, Concord, Hopkinton, Henniker, Hillsborough, Warner, and Bradford formed a northern frontier, and connected the Merrimack with Washington and Lempster, the most northerly of

another line, the Monadnock townships, which, nine in number, established a perfect connection back to the Massachusetts line. Still another line, Chesterfield, Westmoreland, Walpole, and Charlestown guarded the east bank of the Connecticut. All these established and maintained a protection for the whole of central Massachusetts against any incursions of the Indians from the north, and enclosed large tracts of very valuable land.

The burden of the taxation necessary to pay the expenses of Indian warfare and maintain the government rested heavily on the people of New Hampshire, while they were engaged in conflict with the wilderness, planting the standard of civilization step by step further north and west. Therefore, when the governor in his recurring messages constantly besought the Assembly to raise money—to supply funds for repairing Fort William and Mary, for building a new prison or repairing the old one, for the expenses of carrying on the boundary line controversy with Massachusetts—he did not always meet with a cordial reception or a courteous reply. Money for current expenses and paying old obligations as fast as possible the Assembly was willing to provide, but little was to be had for other purposes which did not appear to its members absolutely and urgently necessary.

A strong opposition to the administration sprang up in New Hampshire, and manifested itself in an intrigue to procure the governor's recall. The opposition was headed by Lieutenant-Governor Dunbar, a pugnacious Irishman, and Theodore Atkinson and Benning Wentworth, who had been appointed councillors through the efforts of Dunbar, but whose admission to the council board Governor Belcher prevented for two years. It was a strong combination. Dunbar was not possessed of great influence with the home government aside from that which pertained to his office, but Wentworth and Atkinson had powerful friends and connections in England, who were not slow to take advantage of Governor Belcher's increasing unpopularity both in America and England. So successful were they, that when, in 1741, the royal decision on the boundary line was carried into effect, and New Hampshire finally freed from union with Massachusetts, Wentworth was commissioned governor of the province and Atkinson became secretary of the council, equivalent to the present office of secretary of state.

Governor Belcher was not, however, without friends in New Hampshire, and the chief of these, perhaps, was Richard Waldron, then secretary of the council. They were intimate friends, both officially and personally, and maintained a lively correspondence. Entirely different in character

and disposition, the oddities of each attracted and amused the other. The governor's peppery temper gave Waldron many a chance for a jest or a clever and good-natured retort. But his friends were too few, and the opposition too strong, and the settlement of the long-disputed boundary line gave the home government an opportunity too attractive to be lost for reëstablishing the governments of the two provinces on a basis of complete separation, intended to result in a lasting peace, and the relief of the Board of Trade and Plantations from continual complaints and the burden of discussion and decision of what, to them, were but petty provincial squabbles.

This was, in brief, the general atmosphere of the provinces when Governor Belcher went to New Hampshire to meet the Assembly in the winter of 1733-4, and there delivered his regular speech and scolded on his regular subjects. That he was not considered seriously by all the inhabitants was not due to any lack of earnestness on his part. The author of the poetical reply has not yet been ascertained. Suspicion, however, points to Richard Waldron. The handwriting resembles his, but cannot be certainly identified.

During the first century of the life of the province no family was more prominent or carried a larger influence in the public affairs of New Hampshire than the Waldrons. Whatever may be said of peculiar characteristics which were displayed by some members of the family, the early Waldrons were, as a rule, strong, hard-headed pioneers, the type of men most needed in subduing a hostile wilderness. Later generations became wealthy, and wealth brought to them education and refinement, as brains brought distinction, both civil and military.

Secretary Richard Waldron, whom we assume to be the author of the reply to Governor Belcher's message, was the son of Richard, and grandson of Major Richard, who was killed by the Indians at Dover in 1689, and was born Feb. 21, 1693-4. He graduated from Harvard College in 1712, and soon removed from Dover to Portsmouth. He was a member of the Governor's council, Secretary of the province, and Judge of Probate. It is to the burning of his house in 1736 that we may charge a considerable loss of the early New Hampshire archives and records, and the breaks in the records which were thus created are serious obstacles to the historian of the present day.

The friendship of Governor Belcher kept Waldron in his office of Secretary until the end of the Belcher administration, but Governor Wentworth

suspended him from the council, and removed him from the offices of Secretary and Judge of Probate. In 1749 he was elected Speaker of the House, which the Governor refused to allow, and a controversy was created which lasted three years. He died soon after, August 23, 1753.

The original manuscript of his "Scrub Poetry" is on file with the Governors' messages in the archives in the office of the Secretary of State at Concord, N. H.

On the second day of January, 1733-4, the governor thus addressed the Council and House of Representatives:

"Gen^t of the Council & House of Representitatives.

"By the last ships from London I have recievied an account of the French King's Declaring War against the Emper^r of Germany with whome his Brittanick Maj^{tie} is in alliance & how far this unhappy Rupture may lead to a Gen^l War in Europe is uncertaine, however I think it a faire Alarm to all his Majties Dominions to put themselves in a Posture of defence & you cannot but be sensible how naked & Exposed this Province is both by Sea and Land. Fort William & Mary at the Entrance of this River (the only Fortifications his Majtie has in this Province) you know Lyes in a miserable condition nor are you ignorant how often I have prest the Repaire of this Fortress upon the Assembly here altho it has forty Guns yet it has for a long time had only a Capt a Gunner and two Centinels belonging to it I hope your own Safety as well as his Majties Hon^r (at this Critical juncture) will put you upon doing what is absolutely necessary in this Important affaire.

"I have Gen^t frequent Complaints of the ruinous condition of the Gaole of the Province which will Require a large Repaire or Rather Rebuilding as soone as may be their being Continual Hazards of Escapes thro' its present Deficiency

"Gen^t of the House of Representative.

"you very well know there has been no money in the Treasury of the Province for neare three years past which has greatly Exposed and dishon^d the Kings Goverm^t and has been a Publick Injustice & oppression—this with the threatening Aspect abroad (I have no doubt) will lead you to make Ample Provision for what I have now mentioned as well as for all the other Exigencies of the Goverm^t

"Gen^t of the Council, & House of Representatives.

"Upon my meeting of the Ass^m of the Mass^{ts} Bay in April last I earnestly recommended to them the passing an Order (agreeable to what had been done in this Province) for putting a stop (at present) to any process in the Law ag^t the Borderers on the disputed Lines of the two Provinces. But the Publick Prints have long Since told you it had not the desired Success.

"In January Last, I wrote verry fully to the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of Trade praying them to Represent this long unhappy Dispute to his Maj^{tie} that there might be an End put to the Contention to which letter I have rec^d the Hon^r of their Lordships Answer, Saying they hope upon the return of my answer to their Letter no further delay may be occasioned to the accomplishing a matter of so much advantage to both Provinces and my answer to their Lordships Letter is Long Since gone forward and I shall rejoice in Seeing this troublesome affaire bro^t to a happy conclusion.

"Gen^t In whatsoever you can project for his Maj^{ties} Hon^r & Service and for the Prosperity of his good Subjects in this Province you Shall have my hearty assistance and Consent.

Jan^r 1^t 1733-4.

J. BELCHER.

The reply in rhyme is found to follow very closely the official and more dignified document which was presented to the Governor, and is probably a versification of the prose message done for the amusement of the writer only, and never intended for the Governor's ear. It is endorsed "Ans^r to y^e Gov^r Speech Jan^r 1733-4. Scrub Poetry."

PUNCH TO SHEARBACK

Good Sir, what fatall Dreadful things
The proclamation of French King's
War 'gainst Emperour of Germany
May bring upon this new Country!
And Else how far it may effect
Tranquility of Europe great,
Approaching time must only speak.
But, Sir, great Britain, wee do hope
And other powers of Europe,
By prudent Mediation, may
Divert unto another day
Th' alarming noise of cruell War,
With which wee so frightened are,
And then conclude a happy peace,
That war & war's alarms may cease.
And this wee do beleive full well,
Because, Great Sir, you did not tell
In Speech to us you lately made
The advise came from Board of Trade.
For surely wee do apprehend
That they would forward to us send
There timely wise Direction,
If of war they had Conception.¹
If with such sums wee should Supply
The present wants of Treasury,
As wee do Judge Sufficient are,
The Walls & Towers to repair
Of Old Fort William and Mary,
And to pay poor Jos. & Harry;
If wee the Prison should rebuild,
Our promises not yet fulfill'd,
Togather with the gen'rall Tax
Already laid by sev'ral Acts
For repaying and for drownding,
For Sinking & for Confounding

¹The official reply to the governor's message expresses this shrewd inference in prose thus: "But we hope Great Brittaine & the other Powers of Europe may mediate and divert the War with which we are alarm'd & conclude it in a happy and lasting Peace, and this we believe in as much as your Excellency doth not mention in your Speech that the advice you rec'd in the last ships was from the ministry of Great Brittaine who this House apprehends would have sent forward their Directions had they conceived any immediate Danger of a War."

Money borrowed heretofore,
 When Indians bad in Days of yore,
 Like Dastard sons of Swarthy whore,
 Proclaim'd a sad Unnatural War;
 These things (if wee are right) wee Count,
 To Sums so large would sure amount,
 As Constable would not be able,
 On Poles¹ & 'states (O Lamentable)
 Of Subjects good of Majesty,
 To gather in a Subsidy.
 And such an Act would surely be
 A great and sore Calamity,
 And war itself by far outvye.
 Which, should this house be Instrumental in,
 It would not only much dishonour King,
 But of Oppression be a peice,
 And savour much of Injustice;
 And wee presume you well do know
 Peices this House are strangers to.
 And to prevent such Imputations,
 Wee once did, in December Sessions,²
 An act pass for the Emitting
 Pounds Six thousand paper bills in,
 To repair William and Mary,
 Treasury also to supply,
 Which did both houses pass, 'tis said,
 With the act which Courts Removed
 From Portsmouth, O Unhappy Mischance!
 To Towns from us a greater Distance.
 And to say truth, O strange mistake!
 Wee thought one Common happy fate
 Would both these Laws attend,
 And money stand poor Portsmouth³ Freind.
 But your Excellence approved
 That the Courts should be removed,
 And the poor Ready money Act
 Was into Breeches pocket clapt
 Till pleasure of his Majesty

¹ Polls and Estates.

² December 3, 1730, the House passed acts for raising £6000 for the repair of Fort William and Mary and for building a state house, and for removing three of the courts of general quarter sessions of the peace and the inferior court of common pleas from Portsmouth to Exeter, Hampton, and Dover. The same day the governor in council approved the act for removing the courts, but no action was taken on the money bill.

Be known to your Excellency,
Since which three Years are gon & past,

And yet this Act doth hang an Arse.
This House hath also often, too,
Made Estimate exact & true
Of province Debts, as well as Credit,
(And being in debt have never paid it).
Into the Treasury wee voted
That what was due should be transported,
For to pay of the claims of Many,
Tho' wee design'd not to pay any;
Which being sent down Non concur'd,
A written Message did Afford,
(And by the way a strange one, too).

[An explanation here seems necessary, beyond the possibilities of a foot-note.

March 6, 1732-3, the House passed a bill for emitting £20,000 in paper money. The province was much in debt on account of Indian warfare, repairing and maintaining fortifications, etc., and provision for payment of this debt had been made by heavy taxes to continue annually until 1742. But money was very scarce, and the House considered that the people would be unable to pay the taxes laid upon them for the want of a proper medium. Therefore this £20,000 was to be placed in the hands of a committee, to be loaned to the people at 5% interest for sixteen years, and the principal of each loan was to be paid at the rate of 25% each year for the four years next following the term of sixteen years for which the loan was made. And for the supply of the treasury for the time before the first interest payment was due, a further sum of £1,000 was to be issued. The council, however, was unanimous in refusing to concur with the house on this bill.

The house attempted to bring about a compromise by reducing the loan term to eight years and by other changes in the original bill, but was not successful, the Governor claiming that the approval of such a bill would be contrary to his instructions.

Finally, March 9, the House addressed a message to the Governor, in which the council is charged with saying that the House had nothing to do with the matter of issuing money; and the House further defends its action and position thus: "Now this House thinks they have and ought to have a vote in the disposall of all Publick money and that the Board were formerly of this opinion appears by their Sending down Mr. Atkinsons account

to be past upon in the last Sessions. So that, that money is Still unapplyed notwithstanding the Said Atkinson hath declared his readiness to pay the Same So that the House can See no other way of Supplying the Treasury without oppressing the People whome we Represent than what they have come into. Wherefore this House are humbly of opinion that it will greatly tend to the Prosperity and welfare of his Maj^{ties} Subjects of this Province to address his Maj^{tie} by the hand of our agent to obtaine his Royall leave for a further Emission of Paper Currency more Especially Since your Excell^y has informed this House that you cant consent to It being contrary to his Maj^{ties} Royal Instruction to your Excell^y and if the Hon^{ble} Council Should think proper to appoint a com'ittee to Joyne with a Com'ittee of this House for the Ends aforesaid we are humbly of Opinion it would be attended with the desired effect."

The next day, March 10, the council sent down a sharp and angry reply, as follows:

"Whereas in a Mess^a from the Hon^{ble} House to his Excellency the forenoon bearing date the 9th Curr^t & Sent up this day and communicated to the Council There are Sundry things mentioned which Seem to cast an Odium on the Council as tho it lay at their door that there is not a due Supply of the Treasury to which the Council in justice to themselves are oblidged to Say that the reason of their non-concurrence to the 20000£ Bills on Loan was (as the House has been Heretofore once and againe Informed) because the Emission of Bills on Loan is directly contrary to his Maj^{tie} Royal Instruction And as to the thousand pounds Mentioned for the im'diate Supply of the Treasury it was couched in the Twenty thousand pound Bills from whence tis plaine that the House never intended one Should pass without the other but that if the thousand pounds for the Supply of the Treasury would not tempt the Council to break this the Kings Instruction their complyance with the Kings Instruction Should defeat the Supply of the Treasury but if they had a Sincere disposition to Supply the Treasury as they pretended and Sent up a Bill for the Same they would have soon seen the heartiness of the Council in doing their Duty to his Maj^{tie} and the utmost Justice to this Province by the rediest concurrence as to the Interest of the 1730£ the Council have been long Endeavouring that that Loan Might by some means or other be beneficial to the Publick Tho to their great grief by the disappointment of their attempts in the Hon^{ble} House Private ps ons have enjoyed the benefit of that money at 2½ p Ct when there have been many that would gladly have given more than double yea treble for the same if they might have been favoured with

it and the Council have this day Sent down a vote for the Setting that Loan at 6 p C^t for 2 years instead of 2½ p Ct in order to Ease the Tax of the Province which has at last Succeeded as to the Money in Mr. Atkinsons hands which he recd of Hughs's Estate long agoe and which ought for Several years past to have been in the Treasury the Council presume his Excell^y will take a due Care that that £292 Ball^{ee} Settled under his hands be paid by a Course of Law Since there is no prospect of its being done without it even after So much indulgence to him who has been So notoriously delinquent to the vast dishon^r of the Goverm^t & unspeakable oppression of Sundry poor distressed Creatures to whome the Province is indebted —as to the Houses Saying they ought to have a vote in the Disposal of the Publick Money the Council Reply when they the Council think proper to deny that Point in Politicks it will be time En^o for them to form an argum^t against it but that is not yet got unto the Question for saying the House of Representatives have nothing to do with a Confiscation or a forfeiture to his Maj^{tie} by a Judgm^t in Court Is not Saying the House have nothing to do with the disposal of Publick Money unless it [is] So by some Logick in the House w^{ch} the Council have not Learn'd—As to Mr. Atkinsons declaration of his readiness to pay the Money in his hands what is there in it did he not declare heretofore even in the House and most Solemnly at the Council Board too that he would pay part of his Debt at Such a time and the Residue in a Short Space after & are not the tearms long Since Expired But are the paym^{ts} made let the Treasurers accounts answer which Say no not one penny why then Gen^t Should you trouble your Selves in making Such a mess^a & boasting of Such declarations the Council might further verry well observe too that the Scheme of the House for an audit to be appointed by the Gen^{ll} Court to Examine a Sheriffs Return of an Execution is intirely new however is a full Evidence that the House have been much bent on trifling as to what the House propose of the Councils Joyning with them in addressing his majesty by the hand of our our agent (as they express it) & the Council Say they know of no Person So quallified But if the House mean Cap^t John Rindge, Marriner then they answer That when it appears to them that his Capacity & other Qualifications are Equal to Such a Trust & he is hon^d with a Comissⁿ for that place the Council will readyly do w^t is proper on those heads."]

They say the House had nought to do
With money to the province due,
And by which means that Money
Still is out of Treasury,

As also is the Interest
 (As some do say who know it best)
 Of pounds more than seventeen hundred,
 And is not this much to be wondred,
 Which the verry last assembly
 Voted into the Treasury.
 And if any wicked elf
 Refused, for the sake of pelf,
 To pay the Interest then due,
 Also his Bonds for to renew,
 Then Speaker he the Bonds must see,
 And Borrower to Hampton send,
 His Destiny there to attend.
 Butt, Oh! when Mortals most are pleas'd,
 How Subject are they to be Teaz'd!
 The house disolv'd,¹ the Speakers gone,
 And none the Affair can carry on,
 Which to the province, and to us,
 Has been occasion of much loss.
 And this wee hope will imputation
 Of Injustice or Oppression
 Take from a Guilty Generation,
 And so Confirm the good Opinion
 You express'd towards us whilome,
 By saying that wee always acted
 What a good and gracious King expected,
 A Charracter wee always merritted,
 And so shall never be Dispiritted.
 Wee think it then our Duty is
 His Majesty for to address,
 That wee may Cash sometimes Emitt,
 (You know 'tis Money that buys wit),
 Upon this province's Credit.
 And so wee hope for the Concurrence
 Of the Council & Your Excellence.

Of the house you do receive the Thanks
 For telling of the Circumstance

¹ The same day, March 10, the governor, in anger, dissolved the assembly, intending thereby "to give his Majties good subjects an opportunity of sending such to represent them in the next Assembly as will do all in their Power to retrieve the Injustice you have practiced in not paying the Publick Debts; and those that will promote peace & a good agreemt amongst all the Branches of the Legislature."

Of Borderers on line distressed,¹
And staying process 'gainst th' Oppressed,
Unto your other Government,
Tho' what you said had no Effect.
Some of these towns, being offended,
Money at Law have much expended.
And is not this a Dismal sound?
Some say 'tis full a thousand pound,
Besides there time and loss of Ground.
But this, by what in yours you said,
And the Success our agent² had,
When at great Britain he resided,
Gives hopes that soon 'twill be decided.
For Copy, wee do Understand,
Of Memoriall from the Land,
From King and Councill hath been sent
To Massachusetts Government
For answer, (if wee right remember),
By the first day of Last November.
After which wee dare boldly say
Wee hope there will be no Delay.

Wee beg leave to tell you next,
That wee are met with good pretext,
Such things Determined to act
As C——k May in our Noddles pack;
Which wee conceive was the Intent
Of those whom wee do represent—

CONCORD, N. H.

OTIS G. HAMMOND.

¹This refers to the disputed boundary between New Hampshire and Massachusetts, which had been in controversy for many years, and was then in an acute stage. See the governor's message, *ante*.

²Capt. John Rindge was appointed by the House to be agent of the province to present the boundary line controversy to the home government in England, but the appointment was not recognized by the council.

HAS GOVERNOR LOVELACE OF NEW YORK BEEN
PROPERLY IDENTIFIED?

I AM not sufficiently acquainted with the details of historical investigation in New York to know whether there has ever been any doubt as to the identity (or rather the family) of Governor Lovelace; but I presume that the Dictionary of National Biography gives the generally accepted account when it states that he was the second son of Richard, first Baron Lovelace.

Recently the examintion of some old documents has led me to the belief that the Governor of New York was of a much more distinguished kinship than that which has been usually assigned to him. To most of us the Lords Lovelace are only known by a passing reference in Macaulay; but the author of the two songs to Althea and Lucasta is one of the immortals.

In a volume in the Congressional Library, which was bought from President Jefferson and which contains copies of miscellaneous historical records relating to Virginia, are two documents signed by Francis Lovelace, Governor of New York.

The first of these is a letter evidently written to Governor Berkeley of Virginia. It is as follows:

"**DEARE SIR:**

Since my last to you sent by M^r Machen in answere to yo^r I received a letter from Mr. Tho: Todd of Mockjack bay who being appointed Guardian to the will Whitbey's son by my neece M^r Ruth Gorsuch he having hitherto taken great care and paines in the adjusting his interest in several plantations being devolve to him by the death of his father, M^r Tod desired me to signify to you that this lad I have brought over is the recitable child, and heare to M^r Whitby w^{ch} by these I declare to be soe and if you be satisfyed wth this relacon w^{ch} I assure you upon the faith of a Xtian and Honor of a gentleman you may rest assured of it but if the Ceremony of an oath be requisite, I shalbe ready (if desired as necessary) to make my Deposicon of it, and I shall furt^r desire of you that when an application is made to you in his behalfe you would affourd him what favo^r and Countenance the Justness of his Cause & p'tentions will beare he is now an orphan & I have been at considerable charge both to his transport education

& clothing expecting noe other retorne but when he is in a capacity to make it onely to reimburse me with what I have expended for him, S^r I know his cause is safe in yo^r hands to whome I must refer him & the experiance all that know you have of yo^r Justice & Compan * * [?] in p'tecting the fatherles shalbe argum^{ts} sufficient that I shall not miscarry in these my desires for him in gratitude of w^{ch} I can pay noe other returne but if you please to prepare any service for me you shall find me most ready to obey it when you reflect upon what I subscribe w^{ch} is

Yo^r most assured fathfull serv^t

FRAN: LOVELACE.

From y^e Barbadoes I hear yo^r Bro: Ld Berkeley is designed to be Governor but the truth I refer to your Consideracon. M^r Winthrop Newley sent me This newes w^{ch} here inclosed will kisse yo^r hands adue

Jeames ffort 6th Decemb^r

1669 Rec^r p. RICH. AWBORNE

Jan: ye 7th 1668"

Richard Awborne was clerk of the Virginia Council, and this letter was evidently recorded for young Whitby's benefit.

The other paper is entitled "Resolutions for the settlem^t of Commerce to and from all his Maj^{ties} Plantations in America, and other places to the port of New York & the rest of his Royall Highnes his Territoryes not p'hibited by act of Parliam^t" and concludes "Given und^r my hand at ffort James in New York on Manhatans Island the 18th day of November 1668

FRAN: LOVELACE"

This also had been copied into the Virginia records and attested by Awborne.

In the present discussion this last paper is valuable as proving that the writer of the letter to Berkeley was certainly Governor Lovelace of New York.

The chain of evidence which appears to contradict the commonly accepted statement in regard to Governor Lovelace's family begins with the pedigree of a family of Gorsuch in the Visitation of London, 1633-4. (Harleian Society, p. 327.) In this pedigree it is stated that John Gorsuch, rector of Walkhome, Hertfordshire, 1633, married Anne, daughter of Sir William Lovelace, of Kent, Knight, and had the following children at the time of the visitation: 1. Daniel "about 42° 1633"; 2. John; 3. William; 4. Cathrin.

On April 1st, 1657, Richard, Robert and Charles Gorsuch, sons and co-heirs of John Gorsuch, "P'fessor in Divinity," petitioned the Court of Lancaster County, Va., that their sister Katherine Whitby might be their guardian for "such estate as doth in any ways belong to them in England," and that Francis Moryson [afterwards governor of Virginia] be their guardian for Virginia. Shortly afterwards all of these boys removed to the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The records of that colony not only make notice of them, but also show that they had another brother Lovelace Gorsuch, and a sister Anne who married Thomas Todd, of Mockjack (now Mobjack) Bay, Gloucester County, Va.

The Quaker records of West River, Maryland, contain the record of the marriage, in 1690, of Charles Gorsuch, "son of John and Anne Gorsuch, of the Kingdom of England, deceased," and Anne Hawkins. In 1669, Charles and Lovelace Gorsuch confirmed title to certain land which had been granted to Lovelace Gorsuch in 1661. On Jan. 13, 1676-7, Mrs. Anne Todd made a deed to her children and appointed her brother, Chas. Gorsuch trustee. It seems certain that that John Gorsuch, the "P'fessor in Divinity" was identical with Rev. John Gorsuch of Walkhome, who married Anne, daughter of Sir William Lovelace, of Kent, and that one of his daughters, Ruth, married William Whitby, of Virginia, while another, Anne, married Thomas Todd, of the same colony. This explains at once why Thomas Todd was appointed, as stated by Governor Lovelace, guardian to William Whitby, Jr. Young Whitby was the nephew of Todd's wife

When these facts are made clear the rest of the identification of Governor Lovelace seems easy. Sir William Lovelace, of Kent, the father of Mrs. Anne Gorsuch, was also the father of Richard Lovelace, the poet. The other sons of Sir William were "Col. Francis" (of "Lucasta"), Thomas and Dudley. The Dictionary of National Biography only knows of Col. Francis Lovelace, that he served the Royalist Cause in Wales and commanded Caermarthen from June, 1664, until it was captured by Langhorne in October, 1645. From Governor Lovelace's friendship with Berkeley it seems very probable that it was indeed he (and not the son of Lord Lovelace as stated in the D. N. B.) who received license from the Council in 1650 to go to Virginia, and who in May 1652, was sent by Berkeley to inform Charles II. of the surrender of Virginia to the Parliamentary forces.

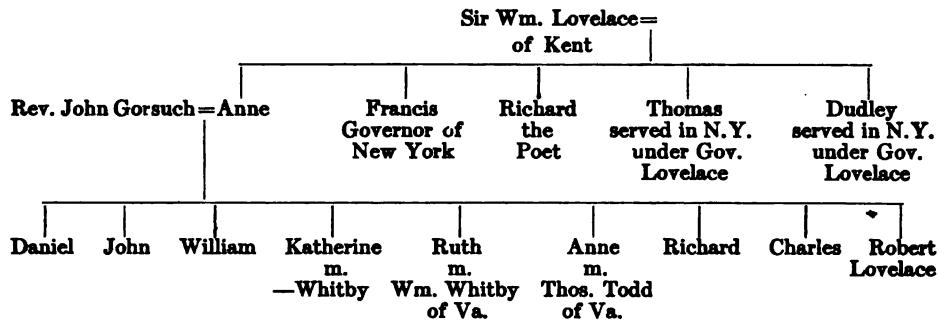
Francis Lovelace and the members of the Gorsuch family evidently came in the large royalist emigration to Virginia during the Civil War.

In conclusion it may be worth while to trace Governor Lovelace's kinsman and protégé, William Whitby.

William Whitby, the elder, the husband of Ruth Gorsuch, lived in Warwick County, Va., and was Speaker of the House of Burgesses in 1653. He received two considerable grants of land, one in Warwick where he lived, and another on Potomac Creek.

The son resided in Middlesex County, Va., and appears to have led an uneventful life, and to have died unmarried. His will, as that of "William Whitby, of Pyanketank River in the County of Middlesex, planter," was dated July, 1676, and proved July 23, 1677. He gave "to Major Robert Beverley £100, Mrs. Mary Kibble [Keeble] £100, and my brother, Joseph Summers £200, all out of a rent due me out of Kent in England"; John Cocking to have 700 acres, and John Wright 500, both on Moratico Creek; his land on Potomac Creek to be divided equally between his brother, Joseph Summers and Mrs. Mary Kibble, and also makes a bequest to Thomas Todd. Summers and Beverly, executors.

The following chart shows the relationship which would seem from the records cited to be correct:



RICHMOND, VA.

W. G. STANARD.

NOTE—Since the above was written I have recalled the account of "The Interment of William Lovelace, N. Y., 1671." This, in mentioning Thomas and Dudley Lovelace, as brothers of the Governor, corroborates the genealogy I have given.—W. G. S.

THE INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY ON THE OLD SOUTHERN CIVILIZATION

NOW that the "Old South" has passed away as utterly as the ancient Kingdoms of Babylon and Assyria, before the very memory of her shall have faded from the earth, it may not be without interest to thoughtful readers to endeavor to trace the cause which produced the striking dissimilarity between her civilization and that of the Northern States of the Union. That such dissimilarity existed is beyond dispute; it only remains, therefore, to attempt to explain it. Beginning National life, as did the thirteen original colonies, under the same general conditions; with the heritage of a common origin, a common language, and a common faith, what influence was it which, within the term of a hundred years, was potent enough to effect so great a change in the habits, the manners, and the character of the people of the two sections?

Was the institution of Slavery mainly responsible for this result? I believe that it was.

While due allowance must be made for climatic and other local conditions, the institution of slavery, in its direct and indirect effects upon the Southern people, appears to be by far the most important factor in the equation.

Let us briefly consider the subject. On the colonial history of the Southern States, it is unnecessary to dwell. Suffice it to say, that while thoroughly imbued with the spirit of independence and taking a leading part in the struggle of 1776, in this course the South was actuated by a desire to assert its abstract rights, and to stand loyally by its sister colonies of the North, rather than by any personal grievance, or feeling of animosity towards the Mother Country.

Between the Southern States themselves, there were strongly marked differences, each possessing its own distinctly individual character. But in essentials, the family likeness between them was strong enough to make any one member of the group a typical representative of the whole, so far as the outside world was concerned. Bound indissolubly together by that common bond,—the institution of slavery,—in politics they were equally

united. From those early days when the American Government was in its formative stage, down to the period of the Civil War of 1861, the South stood always a solid unit for republican principles as embodied in the Constitution of the United States, and exemplified in the cardinal Southern doctrine of "States' Rights."

The term "Democracy" as applied to the South is a total misnomer, and its application furnishes one of the many curious anomalies to be found in American political history. But this history is too tangled a skein to be unravelled here. Enough to say that the Old South was never a democracy, properly so-called; on the contrary, it was an oligarchy of the most pronounced and exclusive type, its population being sharply divided into two classes, patrician and plebeian—the governing and the governed. Nay more, although nominally the entire white population belonged in the first category (and was therefore eligible for public office), practically the franchise was confined to the educated and property-holding class alone, the "poor whites" of the South being too numerically weak and insignificant to be an appreciable power in politics.

Thus it came about that, from first to last, in this fundamental particular the South differed from every other section of the Republic; and this difference was the direct result of the Institution of Slavery.

Secondly: The economic conditions existing at the South were totally unlike those in other parts of the country. The Old South was, emphatically, a community of agriculturists; and of all modes of making a livelihood agriculture is the one least liable to violent fluctuations and sudden collapse. It is true that in the South wealth never rolled up into the millions, and, judged by present standards, bank accounts were by no means imposing in round numbers; but all the real advantages and immunities that wealth can give were enjoyed by the Southern people who, as a class, were in possession of an assured income sufficient not only for the supply of their necessities, but for the gratification of their tastes as well. And in those days there was a solidity and a stability about men's financial affairs which effectually removed from them the pressure of anxiety for the future, and protected them from that feverish, harassing mental strain only too well-known elsewhere.

And here again, we come face to face with that basal fact—"the institution"—on which rested the whole industrial system of the South.

Again: The intimate relation necessarily existing between economic and social conditions would lead us to infer that conservatism was the great

law of Southern society. And in truth, permanence and continuity were its most marked characteristics. The fluctuations and vicissitudes which formed so striking a feature of Northern social life were practically unknown at the South. From generation to generation, men occupied the same habitations, pursued the same callings and held the same place in the community; and, as a rule, the father's social status determined that of the son, and the son's son after him. Thus was created and preserved a social atmosphere only attainable under these peculiar conditions; and the effect of such a social environment upon the whole tone of the people may readily be conceived.

In the South, for example, the spirit of commercialism was noticeably absent. Wealth was not there regarded as the "be all" and the "end all" of existence—the standard by which to measure the sum of human achievement. Nor was a money value affixed to the thousand and one little services passing current in the community. These were regarded simply as small social courtesies due from neighbor to neighbor, and were freely rendered and as freely accepted, without a thought of pecuniary obligation on either side.

An equally distinguishing characteristic of Southern society was the position universally accorded to woman. Southern chivalry has frequently been made a target for ridicule, as a "survival" from the Dark Ages; but the elevating and refining influence it exercised upon the public tone was assuredly a most salutary one. And although, in the light of later developments, it must be conceded that the old Southern idea of woman's helplessness and absolute dependence upon man for support and protection, savoured somewhat of Quixotism, the spirit of knight-errantry fostered thereby was a wholesome one, in that it acted both as an incentive to exertion and as an antidote to selfishness. Even the "code of the duello," while of course indefensible in principle, had something to be urged in its favor for, beyond doubt, it exerted a restraining influence over a hot-blooded people and made for order in the land.

I have said that as a political entity the South consisted of two classes—the governing and the governed. In its social structure, however, it was far more complex. Tier above tier rose the social pyramid, ever narrowing as it neared the apex, on which delectable elevation rested those favored mortals "born in the purple," placidly secure in their social preëminence. Society, that inevitable product of civilization, is, all the world over, composed of orders and degrees, but whereas at the North these several gradations merged almost imperceptibly one into another, at the South

they were divided by very sharply drawn lines of demarcation. The tradesman, the artisan, the mechanic stood quite apart from the professional classes and the landed-proprietors. In every age and in every clime talent will assert itself and rise to the top; and to this rule the South was no exception. But comparatively speaking, south of Mason and Dixon's line there were to be found few "self-made" men, and those few were almost without exception, men intellectually gifted, who had climbed the social ladder by the rounds of fame rather than of fortune.

This, however, is a digression; our present purpose being, not to uncover, fold by fold, the inner intricacies of Southern society, but to present a broad and inclusive view of that society as a whole, and as contrasted with the society of other sections. Perhaps this may best be done, by treating the subject somewhat in detail.

In a recent criticism of a Western poet the reviewer remarked that whatever the poet's shortcomings might be, his descriptions of homely rural life must strike a responsive chord in the hearts of his readers all over the country, carrying them back to scenes and phases of life with which in youth they were familiar. Now, as a matter of fact, not a single one of these allusions could awaken an answering echo in a Southern breast! Descriptions of farm life with its round of labors performed by the farmer's own hands, might be interesting reading enough to the Southerner, but the interest would be that of novelty not of familiarity. For never in the days of his youth had he himself "driven the plough," or joined as a worker in the jocund mirth of a "harvest home." Neither would he recognize in the portraiture of the "village worthies" the companions of his own youth; and rustic wit and rustic manners were equally apart from his personal experiences.

Not by any means that the lot of the Southern planter was always easier than that of the Northern farmer. Hard work most generally fell to his share. Early to rise and late to rest, he toiled as arduously and as unremittingly as his Northern brother, but the toil was of a different sort. It consisted not in literally putting his own shoulder to the wheel, but in training, directing, and supervising the labors of others, and often (hardest and most harassing work of all) in contriving how to supply the wants of his numerous dependents. Supreme autocrat within his own domain, the very consciousness of his power created in him a sense of responsibility, which produced a strength and gravity of character and a certain dignity of bearing. Born to control, from his cradle the Southern land owner was trained to regard himself as the natural protector, provider, and friend of

the weak and the helpless. Thus, while the environment of the Northern farmer was calculated to make him think first of his own personal needs and his duty to himself, that of the Southern planter as naturally impressed upon him the duty he owed to those by whom he was surrounded.

Such was his work. His pleasures consisted chiefly in field-sports—hunting, fishing, riding, boating—he was usually a keen sportsman and a capital rider and sometimes, though not so frequently, a great reader as well.

If for the most part not scholars, however, Southern men could at least generally lay claim to a collegiate education. And whether it was due to vague recollections of classic lore, and lingering memories of Alma Mater, or to the tone of the home atmosphere by which they were surrounded (which is, after all, the truly effective educating influence), certain it is that, as a rule, their manners were polished and their modes of expression those of the "classes," not of the "masses."

The Southern matron was noted for her administrative rather than for her executive ability. Not that, generally speaking, her days were passed in idleness; on the contrary, her life was usually a full and beneficent one, including not only her domestic avocations—among which may be mentioned the now well-nigh forgotten accomplishments of cookery and fine needlework—but the many good offices of a Lady Bountiful which she graciously dispensed among her numerous dependents; plantation life affording ample scope for her activities in this direction. But the menial drudgery of a household did not devolve upon its mistress; and, in consequence, she had at her command an abundant portion of that leisure which—while not a *sine qua non* as regards strictly intellectual acquirement—is undoubtedly essential to the cultivation of the mental graces. Truth to say, as a class, Southern women were more distinguished for their soft femininity and finished refinement of manner than for their erudition. By which I am far from implying that they ignored grammar; much less that—in common with their male relatives—they used the negro-dialect. As a matter of fact indeed, by no people was purer *dictionary* English spoken, than by the upper-class in the Old South.

In its whole internal arrangement and frictionless daily routine the home-life of the South much more nearly resembled that of the English gentry, than that of the dwellers in the Northern States of the Union. Thanks to "the institution," the household machine was too complex a mechanism ever to be thrown completely out of gear, the direful domestic problems so

often confronting the Northern housewife being at the South, entirely unknown. And as conditions, homely and trivial in themselves, sometimes exert an influence on things seemingly beyond their sphere, it may be that that large hearted, free-handed hospitality for which the Old South was famed, was in part at least, the result of this feeling of stability about the domestic foundations.

H. E. BELIN.

CHARLESTON, S. C.

[*To be Continued.*]

ANTHONY WALTON WHITE, BRIGADIER IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

THE subject of this memoir descended from an ancient and honorable West of England family, noted for six generations for its military predilections. The first Anthony of whom we have particulars was a zealous partisan of Charles I., and left England for Virginia after the establishment of the Commonwealth; but, stopping at Bermuda, decided to remain there, where he became a member of the Government. The second Anthony returned to England and under William III. became a lieutenant-colonel and served at the battle of the Boyne. In reward for services, he was appointed a member of the King's council, and Chief Justice of the Bermudas; an office which descended to his eldest son, Leonard, who entered the British Navy and served with distinction. The third Anthony, Leonard's eldest son, came to New York about 1715, married a Miss Staats, and died soon afterwards, on the voyage to Bermuda. His only son, Anthony (IV.), after holding various civil offices in the State of New Jersey, entered the army and was a lieutenant-colonel in 1751. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Lewis Morris, governor of New Jersey, by whom he had the subject of our sketch, Anthony, the fifth of the name—his middle name coming from his godfather, the celebrated William Walton, of the "Walton House," in the present Franklin Square, New York City. Anthony was born July 7, 1750, at the family residence near New Brunswick, N. J.

The family aptitude for office-holding secured him, in due, time, several posts of honor and profit under the Crown, and up to the outbreak of the Revolution he pursued the ordinary routine life of a country gentleman of large property; when the hereditary love of arms, and a sincere attachment to the cause of country, transformed him into the ardent patriot. In October, 1775, he was appointed an aide to Washington,¹ and in February, 1776, became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Third N. J. Battalion. In

¹Anthony Walton White, Major and Aide-de-Camp to General Washington, October, 1775; Lieutenant-Colonel Third Battalion, First Establishment, February 9, 1776; Lieutenant-Colonel Fourth Regiment Light Dragoons, Continental Army, February 13, 1777; (this regiment appears to have performed its services mostly in the South, where the commanding officer achieved a national reputation as a brilliant cavalry leader); Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant First Regiment, Dragoons, December 10, 1779; Colonel, February 16, 1780.—*Official Register, N. J. in the Revol.* Stryker.

this capacity he was actively engaged in service at the North until 1780, when he was transferred to the First Regiment of Cavalry, and ordered South, to assume general command of the cavalry in that department.

In July, 1780, despairing of receiving the promised aid from the State of Virginia, and anxious to join the army under Gates, then in South Carolina, Colonel White procured on his own personal credit, the funds necessary to remount and support for a short time, two regiments; with which he marched to join Gates—fortunately too late to share in the defeat at Camden (and yet, that same rout might have been a victory, had a sufficient force of cavalry been among Gates' men). In 1781, White was ordered to Virginia to co-operate with Lafayette's force against Cornwallis, and several times skirmished with Tarleton. In the winter of 1781-2, he was again in the Carolinas, opposed to him; and in the operations of Wayne at Savannah, May 21, 1782, Colonel White by his bold and adroit conduct, contributed largely to the success which followed. After the evacuation of the city by the enemy, he returned to South Carolina, and entered Charleston, where his noted generosity was exemplified by his becoming security for the debts of the officers and men of his command, who were in want of almost all the necessities of life.

They agreed to repay him in tobacco—then the only currency of any stable value—which was to be delivered to him at Charleston on a fixed date. Owing partly to the failure of the crop that year, and partly to the inability of his beneficiaries to carry out their part of the agreement, he had to part with a large part of his Northern property, at a ruinous sacrifice. In the spring of 1783, he was married to Margaret Ellis, a young girl of only fifteen, but who is described as of remarkable accomplishments, as well as of wealth and beauty. After the conclusion of hostilities, he returned to the North and settled in New York City to spend the remainder of his life, as he hoped, in tranquil enjoyment of well-earned repose, and regain his former affluence; but was unhappily persuaded by his old army friends to join them in a speculation which, as the only responsible member of the organization, nearly ruined him as a result.

In 1793 he removed from New York to his native New Brunswick, where he spent the rest of his life. He was destined, however, to be once more called to arms; being appointed by Washington, in 1794, to command the cavalry in the expedition under Henry Lee, against the Western insurgents; in the delicate management of which duty, he not only won the esteem and gratitude of the inhabitants of the region which was the scene of the insurrection, but the gratitude even of the prisoners whom he was

obliged to take to Philadelphia. He then petitioned Congress for repayment of the large sums he had advanced to the State of Virginia—but unsuccessfully; and though his last years were clouded by the loss of almost all the wealth which was once his, he endured the reverses of fortune with the courage of an ancient Roman. His homestead at New Brunswick was frequently the resort of the leading men of the day—and Kosciuszko was there nursed through a severe sickness, by the unremitting care of Mrs. White and her daughter, which he gratefully acknowledged, in letters still owned by the great-granddaughter of General (as he became) White, Miss Bellita Evans of New Brunswick. General White was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati,¹ his insignia of which is now owned by his descendant, Mr. Anthony Walton White Evans.²

General White's grave, in the cemetery of Christ Church, New Brunswick, is inscribed :

BRIG. GEN. ANTHONY WALTON WHITE,
who departed this life
on the 10th of February, 1803
in the 53d year of his age,
Rests beneath this monumental stone.

*He was an affectionate husband, a tender parent, a sincere and
 generous friend, a zealous and inflexible Patriot and a faithful,
 active and gallant officer in the Army of the United States during
 the Revolutionary War.*

¹ Mrs. Lamb, in her "History of the City of New-York," gives an account of the grand procession three days before the adoption of the Federal Constitution by New York, July 23, 1788 (the State Convention did not adopt it till July 26): " Mounted on a fine gray horse, elegantly caparisoned, and led by two negroes in oriental costume, Anthony Walton White bore the arms of the United States in sculpture, preceding the Society of the Cincinnati, in full uniform."

² The insignia is that once owned by Kosciuszko, who exchanged his own with Gen. White, on the occasion of his return to the United States in 1798. Thus there is now in the possession of Mr. Evans the identical badge which was worn by the brave Pole on the battlefields of Poland in 1794, where as history tells us he rivalled Washington in his strategy and intrepidity, though alas, not in the ultimate success of his patriotic cause.

APPENDIX

GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE WHITE FAMILY. The ancestor of the first Anthony White was sent to Virginia by Raleigh in 1587, as Governor of his colony. Returning the next year with supplies, he was defeated by Spanish vessels and obliged to return to England. In 1590 he found the colony of Roanoke deserted. Leonard (probably his son), emigrated to Virginia in 1620. Governor White's daughter was Virginia Dare, the first white child born in the New World. One of his brothers, Sir John White, also went to Bermuda, probably in 1609, with Sir George Somers. It was the "terrible tempest" and shipwreck which dispersed this company which in 1611 suggested to Shakespeare the play of "The Tempest." Sir John White married a descendant of Sir Owen Tudor, the ancestor of Henry VIII. Joanna White, sister of Anthony Walton, born Nov. 14, 1744, d. s. p. June 26, 1834; third wife of Col. John Bayard (born Cecil Co., Md., Aug. 11, 1738). He was a member of the Council of Safety, Speaker of the House of Representatives, in 1785 a member of the Old Congress in New York. In 1789 he removed from Philadelphia to New Brunswick; was Mayor there and Judge of the Common Pleas.

He died Jan. 7, 1807, a patriot of spotless life, public and private. He was the great-great uncle of the late Senator Bayard.

Euphemia White, second sister of Anthony, born Dec. 10, 1746, d. s. p. Jan. 29, 1832; married Hon. William Paterson (born 1745; grad. N. J. Coll. 1763. Att'y Gen'l of N. J. in 1775; in 1793 nominated by Washington Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court; in 1794 Governor of N. J.; died Sept. 9, 1806).

The Staats family was originally from Albany. Dr. Abraham Staes, who came to New Netherland in 1642, was the ancestor of the Staats of to-day, the name having been changed soon afterwards to its present form. Dr. Samuel Staats, son of Major Abraham Staats of Albany, studied medicine in Holland. When New York was surrendered to the English, he returned to Holland, and remained until William III. became King of England, when he returned to New York, and died there in 1715.

Being appointed by the King to a Government post in Java, he married there a native princess, by whom he had six daughters, all of whom married. In May, 1709, he again married—Catharine Hawarden, of New York. Of the nine children which he had in 1703, the first five were probably

born in Java or Holland. The Princess' six daughters were: Sarah, married Isaac Gouverneur in 1704. Their daughter Sarah became the second wife of Colonel Lewis Morris, of Morrisania. The second daughter married in 1716, Andrew Coejman, of Coejman's Manor near Albany, N. Y. The third, Catalina, was baptized, N. Y., June 16, 1689. The fourth, Anna Elizabeth, baptized Dec. 21, 1690, married Captain Johannes Schuyler. The fifth, Joanna, baptized Jan. 31, 1694, married in 1716, Col. Anthony White, of Bermuda. Her second husband was Admiral Norton Kelsall, R. N. The sixth, Tryntje, baptized April 5, 1697, was first wife of Col. Lewis Morris. His second wife was thus Tryntje's own niece. Two sons were born of these two marriages—General Lewis Morris, the "Signer," and Gouverneur Morris, who were half-brothers. Another brother, General Staats Morris, married in London, Catherine, Dowager-Duchess of Gordon. Their grandfather, Lewis Morris, was the first Royal Governor of New Jersey (1738). He married in 1691, a daughter of James Graham, Attorney-General of New York. The mother of Margaret Ellis was—Vanderhorst, sister of Elias Vanderhorst, American Consul at Bristol, England, in 1780, who is mentioned in "Thaddeus of Warsaw." The family is represented in the United States by the descendants of Major Arnoldus Vanderhorst of Charleston.

(To be continued.)

A. S. GRAHAM
ANNA M. W. WOODHULL.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

TWO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LETTERS.

[Communicated by Mr. Wm. C. Lane, Librarian of Harvard]

(These two letters from Mrs. Delany—Geo. III's "Dear Mrs. Delany"—were addressed to Capt. Henry Hamilton, who, in the autumn of 1778, had led the English expedition from Detroit which, by way of the Maumee and the Wabash, reached Fort St. Vincent (Vincennes) and surprised and captured it.

The post was soon after surprised and recaptured by the Americans under Capt. George Rogers Clark, and Hamilton was carried a prisoner to Williamsburg, Va. He remained in captivity eighteen months under very harsh conditions, until sent on parole to New York in October, 1780. An exchange of prisoners was arranged in March, 1781, and Hamilton reached England in June of the same year.

In 1782 he was again in Canada, and on November 15, 1784, when Haldimand left Quebec for England, he succeeded him as governor. The next summer he was recalled. He was Governor of Bermuda 1788-94, and Governor of Dominica from 1794 till his death in 1797.

Hamilton's memoirs and the journal of his expedition from Detroit are in the Harvard University Library, and will be printed in book form.—W. C. L.)

S^r. JAMES PLACE [London] 7 Feb^r. 1781.

Dear S^r:

Being offer'd a safe conveyance for my letter, I cannot resist the opportunity of congratulating you, on your enlargement from your Horrible Dungeon; you are too just, and generous to your Friends, not to have felt their anguish on your Sufferings, and fear, it was no small aggravation to *them*. My exquisite Friend the Duchess Dow^r of Portland, took every precaution to conceal, what she with real concern, had heard was your situation, and during the rigor of it, I was ignorant of what must have griev'd me very much, as I cannot without shuddering recollect the inhuman treatment you have met with; most heartily I wish you at perfect Liberty, among your Friends here; tho it may be presumption in me, to have any expectation, of sharing the joy such an event woud give them; and shou'd not be surpriz'd, if you started at my well known hand (tho somewhat the worse for the wear) supposing it a letter rather from the Dead, than the living; but, it has pleas'd God to Lengthen my Days to an age which commonly is attended with Labour & Sorrow; of the latter I have had some share of the most grievous kind that of surviving many Dear and Valuable Friends;

but as I trust they are infinitely happier than I can possibly be on this turbulent spot, that consoles me and my spirits are still sufficient to enable me to enjoy my remaining Blessings; among the Number, The Honourable Station y^r Excellent Brother Sackville possesses, the high esteem he is in with every Body that can distinguish merit & his Domestick and social Happiness must gladden the heart of all that know him; I say no more of the rest of y^r familly as I suppose you have better intelligence from them: my last acc^{ts}. were satisfactory of all. The Death of our ingenious Friend and most excellent woman M^{rs}. Hamⁿ of Summer Hill had been so long expected from the severity of a long illness that her release was rather to be wished tho her loss must be lamented. I have felt much for her good Daughter who I fear has not so cordial a Friend in her Brother as she truly deserves; her Mother has taken care to leave her in comfortable and independant circumstanse. Your constant Friend M^{rs} Sandford has supported a very delicate state of health, marvellously, and gone thus far with great success in the Education of her 4 fine Sons; she has been very unhappy ab^t you as she heard how inhumanly yu had been treated—I know if she was at my Elbow I shou'd be charged with her affectionate complim^{ts} and wishes to *her* old Friend Harry, and think if you were to meet you wou'd still recollect *your* old Friend Pooney.

And now it might become me to apologize for so long a letter; but that would be meer ceremony for I know your good heart too well not to suppose even so imperfect an account of your Friends will be welcome, I therefore add before I conclude, that my three Nephews are well tho not all Happy, my Bro^r Dewes died last summer and has left his Eldest Son in good circumstances,—my Nephew Bern^d was the Happiest of Men till deprived some months ago of a most amiable wife; my 3^d Nephew has not a wish to make being the Husband of an agreeable worthy wife settled to their hearts' content at Calwich. My Neice M^{rs} Port mother of 6 Children and consequently full of Parental anxieties but well in health—you see by trespassing so much on your Friend^r how confident I am of it—will you hazard a letter to me? if waves and wind are favourable I may receive it—please God,—before my 82d year is compleated; and, if not by that time superannuated, it will give sincere pleasure to Dear S^r

Your affectionate Friend
and obliged hum^{ble} Ser^t
M. DELANY.

BULSTRODE, Nov. 25—1784

Dear Sir:

I fully intended to have given my self the Pleasure of acknowledging you[r] letter dated the 31 of July a month ago—without any remorse for the trouble it might give you but flattering my self you woud rather receive a good account of my Health than an indifferent one—I waited for that Hour and can assure you I am as well in Health as can reasonably be expected at my years and to convince you that I am not grown Callous I am very sensible of your kind solicitude about me. You are well acquainted with the delices of Bulstrode with the Merits of its Soverign Lady [the Duchess of Portland]—and the ingaging qualities of Miss Hamilton (Sir William Hamiltons Niece) who I think you are no Stranger to—but to do her Justice one must be intimate with her. I woud not venture to say so much tho' you are at such a distance—as it is a dangerous subject—were she not an ingaged Person—and perhaps before this reaches you may be united to one who seems very worthy of such a Prise—our Pleasant society will soon be Dissipated I fear in less than a Month—we expect a weeks visit from Mr. Dews before our departure. Yesterday Admiral and Miss Forbes made us a visit Just returned from my Lord Uxbridge's in York-shire, where they had spent 6 weeks. The Admiral said he had or wou'd write to you soon—I don't believe there is any thing in the report of Mr Gardener being to be married to Miss Forbes tho' he has made them a visit at Chaffont [Chalfont]—Mrs. Poole is well and Happy in Ireland but comes to Town in a month. The last letter from thence gave a very good account of our Friends there—my kind Friend and intelligencer Mrs. F. Hamilton is much afflicted I fear on the Death of Lady Drogheda who died of a Fever about 6 weeks ago—I can tell you no news—we are intoxicated with Balloons¹ and nothing else at Present talked of. I Grumble like an old woman at a Project that seems to promise no advantage but a waste of time and money. My secretary—your young Friend will be very angry with me that I did not postpone this letter till she comes to Town which will not be till the end of Jan^{ry}. At present she is ingaged attending her poor Mamma who has been in a bad state of Health for some months past with nervous complaints—but I hope is some what better.

The Dutches Dowager of Portland desires me to make Her best compliments to you—she is much obligd to you for the fossils you intend send-

¹The Montgolfiers and François Blanchard were then making æronautics the fashionable wonder of the day, and the latter, with Dr. John Jeffries, of Boston, had just made the first crossing of the Channel to France, in a balloon.

ing her. I dont doubt but she will find some among them worthy of a place in her Cabinet. Her Grace's eager Pursuit at present is Land and River Shells—to compleat her Collection. Those that are most common in your Country may be rair and acceptable to her provided they come with their natural surtouts and inhabitants—upon recollection I believe I am mistaken in saying you are aquainted with Miss Hamilton—she tells me she never had the pleasure of meeting you at my House—I hope that time may come tho' a presumptious Expectation from Dear Sir your very old but sincere Friend and Humble Servant

M. DELANY.

P S—Pray write me a long letter soon delays are dangerous

THE PANAMA CANAL TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

LETTER OF THE LATE SENATOR DOOLITTLE OF WISCONSIN.

[Contributed by *Duane Mowry, Esq., Milwaukee.*]

[The Senator's views on this subject are interesting and pertinent in view of recent events on the Isthmus—Ed.]

CHICAGO, March 26, 1880.

M. FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.

Dear Sir:

I have just returned to my office from the house of Mr. Washburn, where I had the honor to meet Madame de Lesseps,—an honor and pleasure wholly unexpected to me.

I went to see Mr. Washburn for the purpose of conferring with him in relation to yourself and the great International Canal through the Isthmus of Panama.

Mr. Washburn was absent. But Mrs. Washburn very kindly invited me to stay and lunch with them. As we had been in Congress twelve years together, he in the House, and I in the Senate from Wisconsin, and as our families were so well acquainted at Washington, I could not decline her invitation, especially as it would give me such an opportunity to make the acquaintance of your excellent wife.

But what I wanted to say to Mr. Washburn, and have him join me in saying to you, is thus: I am not satisfied with the Message of President Hayes upon the subject of the Isthmus routes.

While I am, as an American citizen, prepared to stand by the Monroe doctrine, so far as it opposes the *control* of these routes by Great Britain

or any other power, I do not think the Monroe doctrine goes so far as to assert that we as the great Republic of the New World propose to take the control into our hands.

While we may be more interested in that route than any other nation, we cannot assert for ourselves what we are unwilling to allow to other nations,—the domination of the route, which, from its position on the earth, of right belongs to all mankind.

So long as we assert the doctrine of President Monroe we stand upon the defensive. We stand for the freedom of the seas. Our policy, our traditions, our arms will maintain that.

But if we assert the doctrine of President Hayes, we leave the ground on which Monroe stood, and upon which our people would stand solid, even to the point of war, and we place ourselves in antagonism to the very idea which makes the Monroe Doctrine strong among our own people, and strong throughout the world.

If we follow Mr. Hayes, instead of defending the freedom of the seas we dominate the Isthmus ourselves, and lay our hands upon the commerce of the World.

When this subject comes to be discussed, calmly (but I fear that cannot be until the next President election is over), the sound sober thought of our people will repudiate this new departure of Mr. Hayes, and will sustain the Monroe Doctrine, in its true meaning. viz:

That the routes across the Isthmus, between North and South America, shall not pass under the domination of any foreign power to levy tribute upon our commerce nor upon the commerce of any other nation.

The Isthmus of Panama, the Isthmus of Suez, and the Bosphorus, ought to be free channels of commerce to all nations in peace, and in war; and no less in war than in peace. And the law of nations should provide that if any nation shall attempt to close or blockade them in peace *or in war*, that nation should be treated as having made war upon the commerce of all other nations.

As I go to my home in Wisconsin this evening and shall not be able to meet you, I beg to say that I hope you will not be discouraged in your great work. The people of America will be in sympathy with you, upon the basis that no control shall ever be permitted to any government, and that its freedom shall be guaranteed by the civilized nations, both in peace and in war.

With great respect.

I am very truly yours.

J. R. DOOLITTLE.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

THE EARLIEST KNOWN AUTOGRAPH OF BENEDICT ARNOLD.

(The original letter is owned in New York City. It is particularly interesting as showing Arnold's dual trade—in books as well as drugs. A few of the characters are almost illegible, and we do not guarantee our correct transcription of them. It is also in evidence from the body of the letter that the "servant-girl question" was alive in 1765.—ED.)

NEW HAVEN, *March 2d, 1765.*

Sir

Your favour of the 28th ult^o came duly to hand—I am much obliged to you for your Trouble in sending me a Maid—but had engaged one for Six Months before this came Mr. W^m Johnston wrote me word that Mrs Hobby Imagined the maid you have send (*sic*) was not able to do our business upon which we Engaged an other—as the Girl is willing to return and says it will be no disappointment (*sic*) we have Sent her back again.

I have cred^t your acc. 19/6 according to your desire & have sent you

— Vitriol 32 9 ^d	1.6
Liqu-Laud Sy ^d 32p. 1/6.....	3 9
Stoper Vial $\frac{1}{2}$	
Common Vial 2 ^d	1 4
<hr/>	
	£0.0.7

N. B.—(illegible)

I shall have in a day or two.

The Books you wrote for are Sold.

I am Sir

Your oblig^d Serv^t

Bened^t Arnold.

To Dr. John Dickinson,

Middletown,

[Conn.]

GENEALOGICAL

All communications for this department (including genealogical publications for review) should be sent to William Prescott Greenlaw, address: Sudbury, Mass., from April to November, inclusive; Commonwealth Hotel, Bowdoin St., Boston, Mass., from December to March, inclusive.

GENEALOGICAL QUERIES

A limited number of queries will be inserted for subscribers free; to all others a charge of one cent per word (payable in stamps) will be made.

1. a. WEBB—Wanted, the date of birth, baptism, or proof of parentage of Nathaniel Webb, Sr., of Woolwich, Me., who married Jane, dau. of Samuel and Jane (Derby) Blanchard, of Weymouth, Mass.

b. BLANCHARD, PHILLIPS — John Blanchard, b. at Weymouth, Mass., March 27, 1660, son of Nathaniel, is said to have married Abigail, dau. of Nicholas Phillips. Nicholas Phillips, of Weymouth, and Nicholas Phillips, of Boston, both had daughters Abigail of the right age to marry Blanchard. Which was her father? G. I.

2. a. DERBY—Wanted, the birth and parentage of John Derby, Darby, or Darbyshear, who moved from Dunstable to Groton about 1705, and died before 1725. He married about 1697 Mary Blanchard, of Dunstable, and had children Mary, William, and James.

b. BLANCHARD—Mary (Blanchard)

married for her second husband Nathaniel Wood. She was the daughter of John¹ (Samuel², Thomas³) Blanchard and Hannah —. Wanted: the birth of Mary Blanchard, the maiden name of her mother, Hannah, and the record of Hannah's birth, parentage and marriage.

c. BURR—A certain Samuel Gault, (or Galt, Gaalt, etc.), born about 1780, married about 1810 Mercy Burr, "a Green Mountain girl," who is supposed to have been born about 1790. Their first child, James Washington Burr Gault, was born in 1812, in or near Smithfield, Madison Co., N. Y. Wanted: birth, marriage, and parentage of Mercy Burr.

d. GAULT—Samuel Gault was the son of Alexander Gault, a Scotch-Irish immigrant who has a Revolutionary record. Wanted: birth record of Samuel Gault and any information about his parents.

e. WILDER—The "Book of the Wilders," p. 283, says: "There is a church record in Northampton that states that, 'Catherine, daughter of Catherine and Aholiab Wilder, was baptized in 1741,' which is all that we can learn of his [Aholiab's] wife." Their children were Catherine, Aholiab, Daniel Witherby, Samuel, and Joshua. Who was Catherine, and when and where did she marry Aholiab Wilder?

f. BROWN-SHELDON—The "Index of the Births, Marriages, and Deaths, Recorded in Providence," p. 109, Marriages, gives: "Brown, John, and

Sarah Sheldon, Jan. 3, 1747. 1:18." Wanted: parentage of John Brown, and of Sarah Sheldon.

g. BULLOCK—Who was Comfort Bullock, born in Rehoboth, Mar. 9, 1762, married 1st to Sybil Pierce, of Dartmouth, Dec. 19, 1784, and 2d, in Rehoboth, Dec. 4, 1788, to Bethia Bowen? He was said to have been the son of the Comfort Bullock who was born at Barrington in 1741 and married to Holmes Whitman in 1768, but this Comfort proves to have been a girl, and Holmes Whitman, her husband. The date of birth of the first named Comfort is from family records which do not give his parentage.

B. I.

3. a. MAVERICK—Was Moses Maverick, of Marblehead, a son of Rev. John Maverick, of Dorchester? Is there any known evidence that Moses was a brother of the King's Commissioner, Samuel Maverick, of Noddles Island? Moses was admitted Freeman at Dorchester in 1633 while Rev. John was minister there, a fact indicating relationship, but I can find no positive evidence. Savage and Palfrey did not believe that Samuel was son of Rev. John, but perhaps some later investigator has found conclusive evidence one way or the other.

S. I.

4. a. QUINCEY—"Col." Edmund¹ (Edmund¹) of Braintree, b. 1627, d. Jan. 7, 1697-8. He was a Major in the 1690 Expedition. Is there good authority for the title Colonel? Is the date of his commission known?

b. COGAN—What relationship existed between Mr. John Cogan, of Boston, who died 27 April, 1658. Henry Coggin, of Barnstable, who died 16 June, 1649, and John Coggin who m. Mary Long, of Charlestown, Dec. 24, 1664? Please give references.

c. SLOPER—Proof wanted of the parentage of Mary Sloper who married in Boston, Apr. 3, 1751, Thomas Uran, of Boston. Ambrose Sloper, of Portsmouth, N. H., deeded land, 1758, to his sons Ambrose and Richard, of Boston. Mary (Sloper) Urann's first child was named Ambrose Sloper and another, Richard; she died in Boston, Nov. 28, 1815, aged 85. Can she have been a daughter of Ambrose¹ Sloper, (Richard¹) b. 20 Jan., 1684, and Mary Pickering?

d. ROGERS—Joanna, born Dec. 30, 1722; m. Dec. 30, 1750, Elisha¹ Morse, of Foxboro, Mass. (See Morse Memorial, 1850: p. 57.) Who were her parents?

e. LEWIS—Maiden name and parentage of Jane —, who m. Thomas¹ Lewis (Thomas¹, George¹) of Eastham and Falmouth, Mass. He was b. July 15, 1656, and d. Mar. 19, 1718.

f. BICKFORD-YOUNG — Jeremiah Bickford and Hannah Young were m. in Eastham 26 Oct., 1705. Would like proofs of the parentage of both and any information relating to John Bickford, of Dover, who testified, Mar., 1669, "aged 60 years or thereabouts," and Samuel Bickford, variously called of Salisbury, Amesbury, and New-

bury, who testified, 1669, "aged about 21," and Jan. 9, 1667, "aged 27." This Samuel (see Hoyt's Salisbury and Amesbury Families) married Mary Cottle about 1667, and went to Nantucket.

E. I.

5. a. HALE—Samuel Hale, of Dana and Holland, Mass., cooper, married first (intentions Dec. 23, 1773, Peter-sham), Elizabeth Green, of Granby; married second, between 1788 and 1790, a widow Abigail —, Samuel Hale died Sept. 4, 1813, age 67, Abigail, his wife, died March 12, 1820, age 71; gravestones in Dana Center, Mass. Wanted: ancestry of Samuel Hale and his second wife, Abigail.

b. PRATT—Wanted, parents' names and date of birth of Anna Pratt who married July 7, 1747, John Stone, Jr., in Groton, Mass.

c. PARKER—Wanted, date of birth and ancestry of Aaron Parker, of Oxford, Mass., who was published to Abigail Covel, June, 1752.

d. ELDREDGE — Wanted, ancestry and date of birth of Samuel Eldredge who married about 1804 Sarah Emery, b. Aug. 7, 1785, and lived in Middlebury, Vt.

e. OSBORN—Wanted, date of birth and ancestry of Ephraim Osborn, of Fitchburg, Mass., who married Sarah Fisk November 26, 1759.

f. HAZZARD—Wanted, ancestry of Mary Hazzard, born Vermont 1791, married Samuel Blanchard, who was a soldier in the War of 1812.

g. HODGE—Wanted, date of birth and ancestry of Elizabeth Hodge who married in or near Boston, Gen. Robert Earll, who served in War of 1812, from New York State. T. I.

6. a. STETSON—Who was Elizabeth, wife of Isaac Stetson, of Pen-broke? They were probably married about 1704 or '5. The eldest child was Abisha.

b. RAY-SMITH—Parents wanted of Samuel Ray and his wife Miriam Smith who were married at Wrent-ham, 1713.

c. WATERS—Who was the wife of William Waters, who came early to Boston? Their marital troubles were "aired" in General Court and she finally went back to England. The son, William Waters, was in 1665, or earlier, "Clerk of Writs" at Dame-rii's Cove. Whom did he marry?

d. LINCOLN—Who were the par-ents of Elizabeth Lincoln, who mar-ried Elisha Bonney, of Pembroke, Mass., in 1728? S. 2.

7. a. ELLISON—Ancestry desired of Edward Ellison, who removed from Uxbridge, Mass., to Chester, Vt., his son Josiah being born there, Nov. 5, 1800.

b. LUND—Ancestry desired of Eliza Ann Lund, born Oct. 2, 1805, Phila-delphia, Pa.; according to tradition family supposed to be of Nantucket or Martha's Vineyard.

c. HARLOW—Ancestry desired of

Levi Harlow, born about 1747; he was of Taunton, Mass., in 1783, and died, Springfield, Vt., June 30, 1832.

d. COBB—Ancestry desired of Silence Cobb wife of Levi Harlow, born about 1747 and died, Springfield, Vt., June 27, 1831.

E. 2.

MINOR TOPICS

A COMMITTEE TO VISIT NOVA SCOTIA.

By His Excellency, Geo. Washington, Esq., Commander-in-Chief of the United Colonies.

To MOSES CHILD:

The Honorable, the Continental Congress, having lately passed a Resolve, contained in the following words, to wit:—"That two persons be sent at the expense of the Colonies to Nova Scotia, to inquire into the state of that Colony, the disposition of the inhabitants towards the American cause and the condition of the fortifications, dockyards, the quantity of the warlike stores and the number of soldiers, sailors, and ships of war there and to transmit the earliest intelligence to Gen. Washington.

I do hereby constitute and appoint you the said Moses Child to be one of the persons to undertake this business, and as the season is late and this a work of great importance, I entreat and request that you will use the utmost despatch, attention and fidelity in the execution of it. The necessity of acting with a proper degree of caution and secrecy is too apparent to need recommendation. You will keep an accurate account of your expenses, and upon your return you will be rewarded in a suitable manner for the fatigue of your journey and the service you render your country by conducting and discharging the business with expedition and fidelity. Given under my hand this 24th day of November, 1775.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Moses Child, born Waltham, Mass., Apr. 6, 1731; died Feb. 8, 1793.

He was appointed Special Agent of the United Colonies by virtue of the above commission.

The original of the above is in Historic and Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass.

[Where can any full account of the results of this mission be found?—ED.]

THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Which was founded in 1877, ceased to appear in 1893, not long after the death of Mrs. MARTHA J. LAMB, who had then been its editor for nearly ten years; and has never since been equalled, until the present time. A legal obstacle preventing the use of the word "American" in connection with the title, the present Magazine will bear the name of

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, WITH NOTES AND QUERIES.

(The latter phrase formed a part of the title of the Magazine of American History in 1880, and is adopted as peculiarly descriptive of an important part of the new publication).

The Publisher (who will act as Editor for the present) desires it to be understood that this difference in title does not indicate any difference in the character or contents of the Magazine. It will be as near an exact duplicate of the original Magazine of American History in form, size—even in type,—as is possible, while the character and scope of its contents will be the same as won for the former in the past such approval as is found in the following paragraphs, taken from many such in one year :

"This periodical is without a rival in its domain, and is becoming indispensable to all intelligent readers. It is an unfailing source of historical and documentary evidence of the growth and expansion of our vast country."—*Christian Advocate*.

"It is more than a periodical; it gathers into permanent and accessible form material that would otherwise be lost, or only found with great effort. Its articles are uniformly well written, and the illustrations and print complete the attractiveness of the magazine."—*New York Commercial Advertiser*.

"This magazine is one of the best periodicals in America."—*New York Tribune*.

"It is always a pleasure to welcome the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, with its antiquarian interest, its historical and biographical value, its fine type and paper, and its antique illustrations."—*Brooklyn Eagle*.

"Each number always presents an admirable collection of papers, and maintains the high character of the gifted editor, who, in her history of New York city, displayed the highest qualities of an author. The magazine is as instructive as it is entertaining."—*Scientific American*.

"This publication has steadily increased in interest. It fills a niche of its own, and fills it so admirably as to ward off any attempt at competition."—*Baltimore American*.

"The editor is giving great dignity to our country in recording the lives of families that are noble in the highest sense."—*Boston Globe*.

"This periodical richly deserves the high rank accorded to it by leading historical scholars in the two hemispheres."—*Boston Transcript*.

"It is crowded with facts of historical interest. The editor is remarkably at home with her subject, and her selections are made with a thorough appreciation of the wants of her readers."—*Manufacturers' Review*.

"It is beyond all question the most admirable historical periodical published. It is filled with articles prepared after long research by prominent students of history, and original documents never before published appear from time to time, adding to its real value."—*Detroit Commercial Advertiser*.

"It is rich in illustration and its make-up is of the highest order. Its articles are on subjects of real interest and value to all students of American history."—*Westminster Teacher*.

In the February number will appear an interesting Lincoln article, by Mr. F. E. Stevens, author of "The Black Hawk War." It will be illustrated with two heretofore unknown portraits of contemporaries of Mr. Lincoln. There will also be a valuable article by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, on "Some Popular Myths of American History," which will also contain an unpublished letter of Washington's of peculiar interest.

A specific department—of Genealogy—not found in the M. A. H. will be added to the others, under the able care of Mr. William Prescott Greenlaw, the well-known Librarian of the New England Historic Genealogic Society. This will afford an excellent opportunity for such queries, which are usually inserted only in periodicals issued at much longer intervals than monthly.

During the next six months there will appear a series of articles on the Progress of Discovery of the Mississippi River, by Mr. Warren Upham, Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society—as follows:

1. The Voyage of Vespucci past the mouths of the Mississippi.
2. De Soto and Moscoso on the Mississippi, 1541-3.
3. The expedition of Oñate, 1601.
4. Groseillers and Radisson, 1655-6 and 1660; besides a variety of other articles, covering the whole field of our country's history; and a number of articles of less length, from the various writers who have offered their assistance to make the Magazine as interesting and valuable as its title and aim demand.

All that is necessary to insure the permanence of this most valuable publication is a hundred subscriptions, in addition to those pledged or already received. Towards this consummation, the various institutions of learning, as well as the old subscribers, are requested to lend their aid. Specimen copies will be sent on receipt of the price, 50 cents. Address the publisher.

The publication of this, the first number, has been delayed by having to change printers at the last moment; but after the March number shall have appeared, it is expected to publish regularly before the 15th of each month.

BOOK NOTICES

DESCENDANTS OF REINOLD AND MATTHEW MARVIN, OF HARTFORD, CT., 1638, AND 1635. SONS OF EDWARD MARVIN, OF GREAT BENTLEY, ENGLAND. By GEORGE FRANKLIN MARVIN, of New York, and WILLIAM T. R. MARVIN, of Boston. T. R. MARVIN AND SON, Publishers, 73 Federal Street, Boston, 1904. 8vo. 659 pages.

Not many families can expect the publication of their genealogies under more favorable auspices. Mr. William T. R. Marvin, the joint-author, printer, and publisher of this book, inherited the traditions of his art, and his taste for genealogical studies from his father, who, nearly half a century ago printed a genealogy of the Marvins. A comparison of that little duodecimo of 56 pages with this later volume shows the marked progress made during the last half century in the arts of compiling and printing family histories. The vital details of all branches of the family, beginning with the English ancestry and extending through nine generations in America have been gathered with scrupulous care, and the biographical memoranda presented have been selected with discrimination. The arrangement of the data, the illustrations, the complete index, and all of the details of book-making are such as one would expect from an educated man, having a deep interest in the subject and a lifelong experience

as a genealogist and a printer. This book may well be taken for a model by anyone contemplating the publication of a genealogy. . . .

THE STEBBINS GENEALOGY

BY RALPH STEBBINS GREENLEE AND ROBERT LEMUEL GREENLEE. In two volumes. Chicago, Illinois. Privately printed, 1904. 4to. 1386 pages.

These two magnificent volumes are devoted to Rowland Stebbins (who died at Northampton, Mass., December 14, 1671), and his descendants. A study of the name in England is presented, but no positive connection of the immigrant is shown. The compilation was made under the direction of a Chicago genealogist, Mr. Edward A. Claypool, and the work was printed in Chicago. Both compilation and printing seem to be very well done. One of the first genealogies printed in New England (1771) was of a branch of this family. The paper used is of an excellent quality, and, while the size and weight of these massive volumes is against durability, it is probable that they will long survive many of the genealogies of recent years where little or no care has been exercised in the selection of paper.

All of the descendants of the hardy pioneer settler of the Connecticut Valley, whose race furnished a pioneer genealogist, have good reasons to be thankful to the Messrs. Greenlee for their splendid history of the family.

ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION TO QUEBEC

By the late JOHN CODMAN, 2D

Extra-Illustrated Edition. Two Maps, and Notes. Edited by William Abbatt.
200 copies at \$7.50 net. Cloth, gilt top.
50 copies on hand-made paper. Boards, gilt top. \$15.00.
Postage, 30 cents extra on each.

Among the historical books of 1901, I know none more interesting or valuable than Mr. CODMAN's, and it is greatly to be regretted that he did not live to witness its deserved success.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL (author of *The Crisis*) says: "This book richly deserves the prominent notice given it (by a leading literary journal). It revives a most important and glorious episode in the history of this country, and every American will be the better for reading of the heroic struggles of Arnold's men across the wilderness. It is a book which seems essential to every library."

But the author failed to fully recognize his opportunity for illustrating the story, giving portraits of only four of the twenty or more officers of the expedition.

In my edition I insert *thirteen additional portraits, several of which have never appeared before, and nine other illustrations.*

The biographical notices of the original have been extended wherever possible. These various improvements add much value to the original work, not only to the bibliophile but to the general reader.

The expedition to Quebec, through the trackless wilderness of Maine, is easily the most dramatic episode of the Revolution. It was led by one who was destined to a brilliant career as a soldier, and a disgraceful end as a traitor to his country. But for two events it would have been completely successful, and the whole history of our Revolution changed thereby—the territory of the original thirteen Colonies being augmented by the vast domain now comprehended under the general name of British America, and our country thus extending from the shores of the Arctic Ocean to the Rio Grande.

These two incidents were, first: the month-late start of the expedition, because of which the terrible flood in the Dead River, with the resultant hardships, was encountered by those whom one of their number, many years later, justly termed "that band of Heroes"—and, second: the wound which disabled Arnold himself when, during the desperate attack on Quebec, his inspiring presence and wonderful leadership were most needed by his men.

Mr. Codman's book is the only modern account of this important "prologue of the Revolution," as it has been styled by another author. No full understanding of the importance of Arnold's enterprise and the heroism of his men is possible without having read it. Its terse diction and graphic style make it most interesting reading, and the numerous illustrations (most of them made expressly for it) add greatly to its value.

Sample pages will be sent free on request. Address the MAGAZINE of HISTORY, 281 Fourth Ave., N. Y.

ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR 1905

I expect to publish within the coming twelve months several interesting items of Americana, viz:

I.—THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND COMPANY, GOVERNOR'S FOOT-GUARD of the State of Connecticut; by Jason Thomson, Esq., of the New Haven Bar (a member of the Company). This was originally issued as a pamphlet, but has long been out of print. The Company is the third oldest military organization in the United States, beginning its history with service in the Revolution when Benedict Arnold, its first captain, took the Colony powder by force from the hesitant Selectmen of New Haven, and marched to Cambridge, accompanied by Israel Putnam, to join the patriot forces there. It has since served in the War of 1812, the War of the Rebellion, and the Spanish-Cuban War. The history of such an organization is obviously well worth preserving and enlarging by illustrations, as I have done. It will contain:

1. A rare plate of Benedict Arnold, in uniform, as he appeared before *Quebec*.

2. A colored plate, showing the present uniform of the Company.

3. A most interesting reproduction of a document of unique interest—the original manuscript petition to the Assembly of Connecticut, praying for the incorporation of the Company. This is signed by all the original members of the Company, including Arnold and his brother-in-law, Pierpont Edwards, who afterwards, by the irony of Fate, became the executor of his estate, at the discovery of his treason.

The original is owned by the New Haven Colony Historical Society, and will be reproduced, not by engraving, but by an actual photograph—folding to fit the size of the page. The edition will be limited to 250 copies, of which 248 will be for sale.

200 will be octavo (6 x 9) gilt top, bound in cloth. \$3.00.

50 will be large paper, bound in boards, 8 x 11, untrimmed edges, gilt top, special paper. \$5.00.

Postage extra on each.

The printing will be from type, distributed as soon as the work has been done, and this edition will never be duplicated.

II.—THE POEMS OF EDWARD COATE PINKNEY. With a biographical sketch of the poet, by Eugene L. Didier, author of a "Life of Edgar A. Poe," "Life of Madame Bonaparte," etc. The original edition of these poems is now one of the rarest items of Americana. It was published in 1825, and won the admiration of the chief American critics, Poe among them, who pronounced Pinkney to be "the first of American lyrists," and his poem, "*A Health*," (of which I give two verses herewith) "especially tiful—full of spirit and brilliancy."

ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR 1905

A HEALTH

I fill this cup to one made up of loveliness alone,
A woman, of her gentle sex the seeming paragon ;
To whom the better elements and kindly stars have given
A form so fair that, like the air, 'tis less of earth than heaven.

Her every tone is music's own, like those of morning birds,
And something more than melody dwells ever in her words ;
The coinage of her heart are they, and from her lips each flows
As one may see the burthened bee forth issue from the rose.

Only Pinkney's untimely death—before he was twenty-five—prevented his becoming one of the foremost poets of our country. The *North American Review*, then the highest literary authority in the country, said: "If the name of Thomas Carew or Sir John Harrington had been attached to these poems, we should, in all probability, like others, have been completely taken in." Another critic declared: "Some of his poems are not surpassed by any similar productions in the English language." I risk nothing in saying that Pinkney's readers of 1905 will re-echo these praises—and I trust all who have heretofore sustained me in my historical publications will give as hearty support to this, my first effort in the field of American poetry. The edition will consist of 250 copies, of which 200 will be in octavo (6 x 9) form, gilt top, uncut edges, at \$3.00.

50 copies, on special paper, large paper (8 x 11). \$5.00.

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EACH STYLE WILL HAVE A PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR, from an authentic original.

III.—ADVENTURES IN THE WILDS OF AMERICA AND THE BRITISH-AMERICAN PROVINCES. By Charles Lanman, author of *A Dictionary of Congress*, *The Private Life of Daniel Webster*, etc., etc. With an Appendix by Lieut. Campbell Hardy, Royal Artillery.

2 vols., octavo. 500 pp. each. Illustrated. Portrait, and memoir of the author by William Abbatt. Price \$10.00.

Large paper (8 x 11) 3 vols. (consecutive paging), special fine paper. Only 15 copies. \$20.00.

Originally published in 1857, this most valuable and interesting work has long been out of print and scarce, and hence not known to the present day as its merits deserve.

While other books on similar subjects have been issued since, I think none of them—or all combined—equal this, as a record not alone of sport, but of travel, description of scenery, literature and legend (for the author has recorded many most beautiful Indian legends). The range of his journeys was from Florida to Labrador, and from the Atlantic to the

ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR 1905

present St. Paul and Minneapolis. His style needs no encomium from me. I prefer to quote from letters to him from WASHINGTON IRVING and EDWARD EVERETT:

MY DEAR SIR:

I am glad to learn that you intend to publish your narrative and descriptive writings, in a collected form. I have read parts of them as they were published separately, and the great pleasure derived from the perusal makes me desirous of having the whole in my possession. They carry us into the fastnesses of our mountains, the depth of our forests, the watery wilderness of our lakes and rivers, giving us pictures of savage life and savage tribes, Indian legends, fishing and hunting anecdotes, the adventures of trappers and backwoodsmen; our whole arcanum, in short, of indigenous poetry and romance: to use a favorite phrase of the old discoverers, "they lay open the secrets of the country to us."

I return you thanks for the delightful entertainment which your Summer rambles have afforded me. I do not see that I have any literary advice to give you, excepting to keep on as you have begun. You seem to have the happy, enjoyable humor of old Izaak Walton, and I trust you will give us still further scenes and adventures on our great internal waters, depicted with the freshness and skill of your present volumes.

With the best wishes for your further success, I am

Very truly, your obliged

WASHINGTON IRVING.

EDWARD EVERETT wrote:

I fully concur with the opinions expressed by Mr. Irving on the subject of a collective edition of your narrative and descriptive writings. While I am not familiar with all of them, from those which I have read and from his emphatic and discriminating commendation, I am confident the series would be welcomed by a large class of readers. You have explored nooks in our scenery seldom visited, and described forms of life and manners of which the greater portion of our busy population are entirely ignorant.

Wishing you every success, I am

Very truly yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

A selection of a few of Mr. Lanman's chapters will give a slight idea of the variety of his book:

Legends of the Illinois—Lake Winnipeg—Fish of the Upper Mississippi—Down the St. Lawrence—The Saguenay River—The Hermit of Aroostook—The Falls of Tallulah—The Valley of Virginia—The Cheat River Country—Tombigbee and Black Warrior Rivers—Accomac—A Week in a Fishing Smack—A Virginia Barbecue—Esquimaux of Labrador—The Western Pioneer.

ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR 1905

IV.—GARDEN'S ANECDOTES OF THE REVOLUTION (both series). The author, Alexander Garden, was Major in Lee's Legion—and his work is one of the best on its theme. The first volume was published at Charleston, in 1822; the second in 1824. Each is scarce and valuable, the second particularly so. I propose revising the text, to eliminate errors, and to issue my edition in two octavo volumes (6 x 9) with a number of illustrations, including one or more of the author, and one each of the brothers Pinckney (not heretofore published), and a number of landscapes.

The edition will be limited to 200 copies (6 x 9) and 50, large paper (8 x 11)—the former in cloth, gilt top, with paper label; the latter in charcoal boards, gilt top, and untrimmed edges. The prices will be \$10.00 and \$15.00 respectively.

N. B.—All these works will be printed in large type (Small Pica, same as this line) on fine paper, well bound and produced in the general style of my other publications. Address, William Abbatt, 281 Fourth Ave., N. Y.

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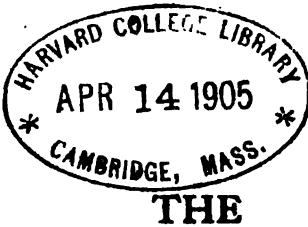
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VOL. I



NO. 2

MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH

NOTES AND QUERIES

FEBRUARY 1905

WILLIAM ABBATT
281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Published Monthly

\$5.00 a Year

50 Cents a Number

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LADY OF THE CAMELLIAS (THE), by Alexander Dumas, fils. New translation with a new preface by the author, with 10 full-page engravings on steel and 41 photogravures in the text, by Albert Lynch. 1 vol. Imperial 8vo, cloth extra, gilt top. Reduced from \$6.00 to \$1.50.

LAMB (Charles). *Essays of Elia, and Last Essays of Elia*, edited with Introduction by Augustine Birrell. Small crown 8vo (6½x5), cloth. London, n. d. Reduced from \$1.00 to 50 cents.

LIFE AND TIMES OF GENERAL SIR EDWARD CECIL, VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON, Colonel of an English Regiment in the Dutch Service, 1605-1631, and one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, 1638-1638. By Charles Dalton. Portrait. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth, uncut. London, Sampson Low, 1885. Reduced from \$12.00 to \$1.00.

MAGIC. *Witch, Warlock and Magician: Historical Sketches of Magic and Witchcraft in England and Scotland,* by W. H. Davenport Adams. 1 vol. 8vo, cloth (428 pages). London, 1889. Reduced from \$8.00 to 75 cents.

MANON LESCAUT AND THE CHEVALIER DES GRIEUX. Illustrated by Maurice Leloir, containing 12 full-page etchings and 225 ornamental head pieces, all different. Printed on superfine heavy paper, 4to, cloth extra, gilt top. \$20.00 reduced to \$3.00.

OBELISK (The) AND FREEMASONRY, according to the Discoveries of Belzoni and Commander Gorringe; also a Comparison between Egyptian Symbols and those Discovered in American Mounds, by John A. Weisse, M. D., with colored and plain illustrations, the hieroglyphs of the American and English Obelisks and translations in English by Dr. S. Birch. 8vo, paper cover. New York, 1880. \$1.00 reduced to 50 cents.

PONTGIBAUD (Chevalier). A French Volunteer of the War of Independence. Translated by Robert B. Douglas. Portrait of the Chevalier. Crown 8vo, cloth, gilt top, printed on deckle-edged paper. New York, 1897. \$1.50 reduced to 75 cents.

RAPHAEL'S MADONNAS, and other great pictures, reproduced from the original paintings, with a life of Raphael and an account of his chief works, by Karl Karoly. With 54 illustrations most of which are full-page and including 7 photogravures. Royal 8vo, new decorated cloth, gilt top. London, George Bell & Sons, 1894. Reduced from \$8.00 to \$3.00.

BALZAC'S COMPLETE WORKS, translated into English by Miss Ellen Marriage, Mrs. Clara Bell, and James Waring, edited by George Saintsbury. The Charming Temple Edition. 40 vols. small 8vo (6½x4½), handsomely bound in neat green cloth, gilt tops, uncut. London, 1901. Reduced from \$30.00 to \$18.00. Reduced from \$8.00 to 50 cents.

BECK (G. W.). *Gloves. Their Annals and Associations: a Chapter of Trade and Social History.* Illustrated. Crown 8vo, cloth extra. London, 1888. Reduced from \$8.00 to 50 cents.

BIBLE FOLK-LORE: a Study in Comparative Mythology, by the author of "Rabbi Joshua." Large post 8vo, pp. 355, cloth. N. Y. (London), 1884. Reduced from \$3.00 to \$1.50.

BULLEN (A. H.). *England's Heilcon. A Collection of Lyrical Poems published in 1600.* Fcap. 8vo (7x4), decorated cloth, gilt top. London, 1889. Reduced from \$2.00 to \$1.25.

CATHEDRALS. Our National Cathedrals: Their History and Architecture, from their Foundation to Modern Times, with special accounts of Modern Restorations, carefully compiled and revised by Dignitaries of the Church. Profusely illustrated with 180 full-page plates, mostly colored, and numerous woodcuts in the text. 3 vols. am. 4to (9½x7½), cloth gilt, bevelled boards. London, n. d. Reduced from \$12.50 to \$4.50.

DE WITT (John), *Grand Pensionary of Holland; or, Twenty Years of a Parliamentary Republic,* by Antonin Lefèvre Pontalis. Handsomely printed in large type. 2 vols. 8vo, cloth, uncut. London, Longmans, 1885. Reduced from \$14.40 to \$2.00.

DOLOMITES. A Midsummer Ramble in the Dolomites, by Amelia B. Edwards. 27 illustrations and map. 8vo (9x7), cloth, uncut. London (1889). \$4.00 reduced to \$1.25.

FRENCH REVOLUTION. *Camilie Desmoulin and his Wife; Passages from the History of the Dantonists.* Translated from the French of Jules Claretie by Mrs. Hoey. Portrait. 8vo (480 pages), new cloth. London, 1876. Reduced from \$4.50 to 75 cents.

FURMAN (Gabriel), *Antiquities of Long Island, with a Bibliography by Henry Onderdonk, Jr., to which is added Notes, Geographical and Historical, relating to the town of Brooklyn, in Kings County, on Long Island.* 12mo, cloth. New York, 1874. \$3.00 reduced to \$2.00.

HAWKINS (Gen. Rush C.). *Better than Men. Frontispiece.* Square 16mo, cloth, gilt top, uncut. New York, 1896. \$2.00 net reduced to \$1.25.

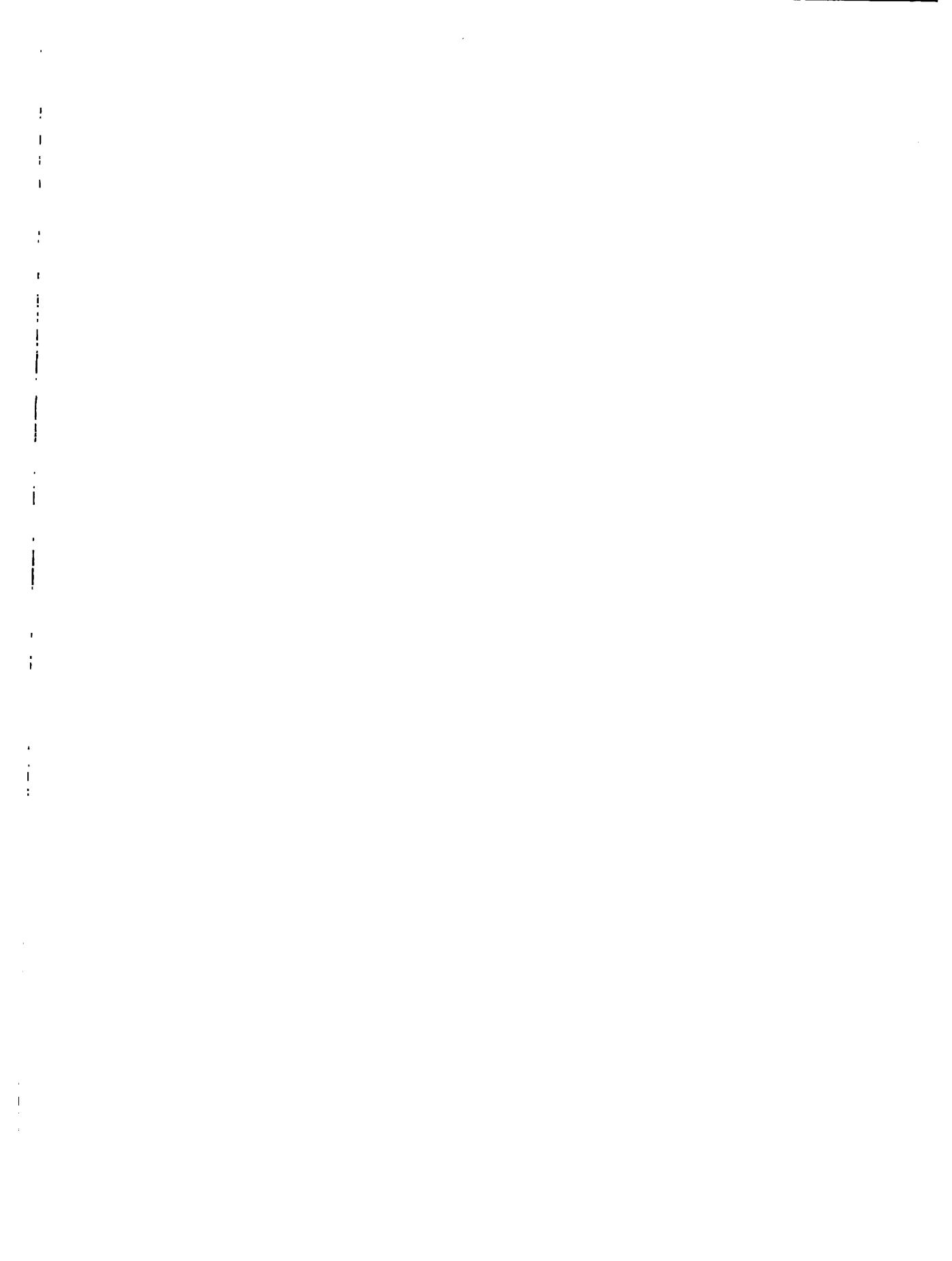
ROSICRUCIANS. A HISTORY OF THE, founded on their own Manifestoes, and on Facts and Documents collected from the Writings of Initiated Members, by Arthur Edward Waite, author of "The Mysteries of Magic: a Digest of the Writings of Eliphas Levi," in crown 8vo (454 pages), with illustrations, and historicosymbolical binding. London, 1882. Reduced from \$2.50 to \$1.25.

SPAIN: The Story of a Journey, by Josef Israëls (the well-known artist), translated from the Dutch by A. Teixeira de Mattos. With a Portrait of Israëls in Photogravure and Reproductions of 39 very clever Original Drawings by Josef Israëls. One handsome volume superroyal 8vo (10½x7½), cloth. London, 1900. Reduced from \$6.00 to \$2.00.

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PRIVATE LORENZO DOW THOMPSON.

The wrestler who threw

Captain Abraham Lincoln.

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THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. I

FEBRUARY, 1905

No. 2

SOME POPULAR MYTHS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOLTAIRE, the cynic, maintained that "history did not *always* lie," which statement, though somewhat exaggerated, contains the proverbial exception which often proves the rule. The collector who adds to his store such autographs as are held for their historical value, soon realizes that writers of history often fail in their work, through ignorance of their subject, or from prejudice against giving the truth and nothing but the truth. History repeats itself, and at all times truth has been so warped, to serve one purpose or another, that the historical student, especially, rarely fails to become the confirmed skeptic in his branch of knowledge. But the subject of historical accuracy, even in relation to American history, is too extensive a one to be treated of by a single individual or encompassed within the space which could be allotted to an article of this character. The author, therefore, proposes to confine himself to the presentation of some of the historical material which is or has been in his own collection.

The people of New England have, from their earliest settlement, been as noted for the care with which they have preserved their records as the people of the other Colonies for their indifference in this regard. It should not be a matter of surprise, therefore, that in consequence of the great wealth of this material in New England, the greater portion of our writers on American history and the compilers of our school books have been, until within a comparatively recent period, of New England birth or residence. The presence herein of a great temptation and of a great danger to historical accuracy are immediately seen, and the author believes that a just criticism of the works on Colonial and Revolutionary history, especially those written prior to five-and-twenty years ago, would involve the accusation of a general lack of fairness toward the other Colonies. This unfairness consisted in giving undue prominence to the acts of the New England people,

both individually and collectively, at the expense of the full credit due to others, and this has been done, not infrequently, when this recognition might have been given without in any degree lessening that justly due to their own people. But apart from this want of fairness, or at least indifference, in the treatment of the deeds of others, foreign to their own territory, the manuscript material itself was sometimes falsified, as for example, it is believed Sparks did in the matter of Washington's letters. General Washington was a man of very strong passions and was undoubtedly prejudiced against many of the peculiarities of the New Englanders of his day. And although few men held themselves in better restraint than he, he would nevertheless, at times, express himself very freely in regard to the men and measures of New England.

It is said that Sparks manipulated Washington's correspondence by striking out every reflection made against the New England people and by suppressing many letters. Both of these charges the author believes to be true from his own observation. It has also been charged that in other instances, Sparks made such interpolations of his own as entirely to change the original meaning, but of this the writer has no personal knowledge.

That the full significance and effect of the spirit of unfairness pervading these writers of history, may be fully appreciated by the reader, it must be borne in mind that they had access at one time to an immense mass of material which was not available outside of New England. Moreover, the New England authorities were in such frequent communication with all other portions of the country, that the mass of correspondence, thus gained and preserved, offered the means of doing fullest justice to the other Colonies, which were afterwards found to be themselves often without proof necessary to establish their just claims.

The following examples are now offered as evidences of one-sided history making:

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

One of the first claims made to the credit of New England was the early attention paid to public education. It is strictly true that, next to building a meeting house in a new settlement, a school was put up. But thorough investigation of this subject furnishes evidence that the chief purpose, at least, of these schools was to fit young men for the ministry and that they were not based, either in scope or object, upon the plan of the public school of the present day. The evidence of this lies in the fact that Latin, Greek

and Hebrew were chiefly taught, as though to aid the study of the Scriptures in the original texts, and although boys and girls were doubtless also taught at these schools, to a limited number, previous to the Revolution, the salary of the schoolmaster was as a rule, if indeed the rule were not without exception, paid by division among the pupils themselves and not by the town. The famous Latin School of Boston, which is often held up to our admiration as the beginning of the public school system, was chiefly noted for its Latin course, and each scholar paid about five dollars a term.

Granting, however, full measure of praise to New England and with no desire to minimize the credit due her for her work in this cause, it is still in order for us to ask when has credit ever been given by any writer to South Carolina for the establishment in Charleston, about twenty years before the founding of the Latin School in Boston, of the first school approaching in character the public schools of to-day? The accompanying illustration is taken from a volume of the *Charleston Gazette* for the year 1743, once owned by the author but now in the possession of the Lenox Library of this city, showing the fac-simile of an account for building a negro free school house. Some years ago the author had in his possession a memorandum which stated that this school house, built in 1742-3, was the second which had been erected by the city of Charleston for the education of negro children, whose parents indeed represented the only portion of the community unable to educate itself. In these schools the pupils received gratuitous instruction and were obliged to attend regularly until the age of twelve years. If the difference in money value, then and now, be considered, it will be found that the cost of this building could not have fallen much below five thousand dollars.

It is evident, therefore, that the first public school, in the accepted sense, existed in Charleston, at least as early as 1743, and not in New England.

THE BOSTON MASSACRE

The impartial student is fully impressed with the fact that, as his investigations approach the period just preceding the American Revolution, the claims of the New England people become more prominent. Here again, if the writers of our histories and especially of our school books have not given undue credit to those who were the chief actors in New England at this period, they have at least uniformly failed to do full justice to those who were quite as active in the cause in other colonies.

Negro School-House at Charles-Town Accompt.

1743. Debtor.	1743. Creditor.
To Cash paid Mr. John Cate, for Timber, Boards, &c. as per his Account and Receipt, £. 10s 3d 6	By Benefaction received from the Honorable Charles Peckney, Esq; £. 10s 0
To ditto paid Mr. Jacob Fielding, for Framing, and finishing the Carpenter's Work of the said Negro School, as per Agreement and Receipt, 90s 0d 0	By ditto from the Hon. John H. Webb, Esq; 20s 0
To ditto paid Mr. Jacob Fielding, for Shingles, &c. as per Account and Receipt, 12s 0d 0	By ditto from the Hon. Edmund Ashe, Esq; 10s 0
To ditto paid Mr. Jacob Fielding, for Nails and Iron Work, as per his Account and Receipt, 17s 10s 0	By ditto from the Rev. Mr. William McGilchrist 10s 0
To ditto paid Mr. Jacob Fielding, for making Benches, Brackets, and Deck for the said Negro School House, as per his Account and Receipt, 32s 0d 0	By ditto from a Person that desires to be unknown 10s 0
To ditto paid Mr. Jacob Fielding, for 4 M. plastering Laths, as per Account and Receipt, 8s 0d 0	By ditto from Mr. Robert Pringle 10s 0
To ditto paid Mr. Hugh Cartwright, for 30 Bushels of Lime, as per his Account and Receipt, 3s 19s 6	By ditto from Mr. Charles Theodore Patchell 6s 0
Indebted to Mrs. Sarah Trott, for Brick work and plastering, above £. 12s 0d 0	By ditto from Mrs. Mary Eustis 10s 0
Borrowed from the publick Magazine near the Work house, 3 M. 5C Bricks at £. 7 per M. £. 30s 6d 6	By ditto from Col. Daniel Beach 10s 0
	By ditto from Mr. William Stone 10s 0
	By ditto from Mr. Andrew Dwyer 5s 0
	By ditto from Mr. John Watson, Esq; 10s 0
	By ditto from Mr. Peter Beniff 10s 0
	By ditto from Mr. James Omond 10s 0
	By ditto from Mr. William Phipps 5s 0
	By ditto from Mr. Benjamin Smith 10s 0
	By ditto from Mrs. Sarah Trott 10s 0
	By Cash received for 200 Feet of overplus Boards sold by Mr. Dwyer, £. 10s
	By ditto from another Person who desires to be unknown 30s 0
	£. 226 0s 0

Charles-Town, Nov. 26, 1743. Errors excepted.

ALEXANDER GARDEN.

December 12, 1743. This Day the above Accompt was audited and examined by the proper Vouchers, and approved by the Vestry of the Parish of St. Philip, Charles-Town.
William Smith, Clerk.

THE above Accompt was sworn to, by the Reverend Mr. Garden, before me this 12th Day of December, 1743.

James Wright, J.P.

CHARLES-TOWN

Resistance to the Stamp Act had been quite general throughout the country and the Sons of Liberty in New York were particularly vigilant in seeing that the Non-importation Act was fully observed, although many of the merchants did not sympathize with the move. British soldiers were stationed in all the larger towns and they, taking their cue from those in authority, showed their enmity towards the people on all occasions. Particularly marked was this condition of affairs in the city of New York.

On the night of January 16th, 1770, the soldiers succeeded in destroying the Liberty pole in this city after having failed in several previous attempts, in which they had been driven off by the people. On the following day a public meeting was called, which at least three thousand sympathizing citizens attended. Resolutions were passed condemning the hiring of soldiers for divers purposes by the people, since this custom worked to the disadvantage of the laboring classes who were thus deprived of steady employment. A protest was also entered against allowing armed soldiers to wander freely about the city when off duty. The soldiers promptly resented this action of the people and a number of brawls took place in various parts of the town. At length the people concentrated their strength and, after disarming a number of the soldiers, drove them into barracks. The encounter in which the largest number on both sides was engaged, took place on what was called Golden Hill, a place situated on John Street between William and Cliff Streets. Miss Mary L. Booth, who wrote a most painstaking and reliable history of the city of New York, previous to the beginning of the Civil War, refers to this matter as follows: "Thus ended the battle of Golden Hill, a conflict of two days duration, which, originating as it did in the defense of a principle, was an affair of which New Yorkers have just reason to be proud, and which is worthy of far more prominence than has usually been given it by standard historians. It was not until nearly two months after that the "Boston Massacre" occurred, a contest which has been glorified and perpetuated in history; yet this was second both in date and in significance to the New York Battle of Golden Hill."

It would be difficult to find a better illustration than this of the subject under consideration. The "Boston Massacre" was at best nothing more than a street brawl, in which five unarmed spectators were shot down without the slightest resistance having been made on their part; an affair with which at the time the people at large of Boston had nothing whatever to do. It was simply a brutal and dastardly act on the part of the soldiers, in retaliation for the annoyance offered by one or two irresponsible boys who had been throwing snow balls. Yet this affair has been magnified

to such a degree of importance that if the Battle of Bunker Hill had not been fought in the same neighborhood, this occurrence would doubtless have been placed in history as the most important event in the Revolution. On the other hand, the conflict in New York, which lasted for over two days, was the first stand, and a successful one, made by the people against the British soldiers. It was an event of very great importance indeed, for not only was blood first shed but in it was life first lost for the Cause. Yet how little importance has any New England writer in the past ever attached to it! It has certainly never been pointed out that the "Battle of Golden Hill," in contra-distinction to the "Boston Massacre," was the beginning of the struggle.

In Parker's *New York Gazette or Weekly Post-Boy* for Monday, February 5th, 1770, a full and detailed account of the Battle of Golden Hill can be found. The file of this paper is now in the Lenox Library and this special issue has been reproduced in fac-simile for the author; but it is so voluminous that it can not be given here as an illustration.¹

If the quartering of troops in one section of the Colonies, rather than in another, may be accepted as evidence of disaffection among the people and of organized resistance to the acts of the British Government, then again full justice has not been done to New York. According to Bancroft British troops had already been quartered in this city as early as December, 1766, and were not sent to Boston until at least two years later.

COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE

It would not be difficult to prove that the initiative step in the final struggle was first taken by the Carolinas and by Virginia and that the people of Boston and of other cities in New England moved rather in response to pressure from without than at their own suggestion. The men who became the leaders in the general movement afterwards were beyond question both sincere and patriotic from the beginning, but the people of New England were not, at that time, so near a unit in sentiment as were those of Virginia and of North and South Carolina.

The history of those times has yet to be written in which due credit must be given to Virginia. Instead of that Colony appearing simply as a supporter and abettor of the acts of Massachusetts, the position hitherto allotted her, she should be accredited, as she deserves, with the leadership. No

¹ A bronze tablet has been placed to commemorate the encounter—since this paper was written—in John Street at the corner of William.

one more fully appreciated this fact than Bancroft who, notwithstanding his changes of opinion on many other points with each edition of his book, both mentions and accredits nearly every circumstance. But this is done often with faint praise and with the context not always fairly placed, while the deeds of the Bostonian are invariably made most prominent. It is therefore impossible, for the most part, for any one but an expert to arrive at any other impression than that suggested by the bias of the author.

A committee was proposed and organized in Boston, November 3rd, 1772, by Samuel Adams, for the purpose of communicating with the people in the neighboring towns. In March, 1773, Dabney Carr, a young man of great promise, offered certain resolutions in the Legislature of Virginia embodying a plan of Intercolonial Committees of Correspondence, by means of which all portions of the country could be brought into closer relation. This organization was perfected by Richard Henry Lee, who soon became its chief organizer owing to the untimely death of Mr. Carr. The existence of this organization was of incalculable benefit to the cause of the Colonies, and it alone, moreover, made possible a favorable termination to the Revolution. Bancroft, in one portion of his history, pays full tribute to Dabney Carr and writes, regarding the organization, that "In this manner, Virginia laid the foundation of our Union; Massachusetts organized a province, Virginia promoted a confederacy." And yet, from other portions of Bancroft's work the only inference suggested is, that to Samuel Adams alone is due the credit for this work; and indeed this is the general impression held, to a great extent to-day, by those who are familiar with our history, as it is written.

The "broad-side" here reproduced was issued by the Boston Committee and is signed with the autograph signature of the secretary. The mere fact of this issue, in Boston, of the Virginia Resolutions, urging that the other Colonies should communicate directly with the Virginia Committee, proves that the one in Boston had been simply a local affair up to that date and that the proposed general organization did not originate there.

"THE BOSTON TEA-PARTY"

So soon as the British Government determined upon the shipment of tea to the American Colonies, it was arranged that these ships should arrive at each port very nearly on the same date; thus the people in the different Colonies would be unable to unite together in their resistance. Through

BOSTON, APRIL 9, 1773.

SIR,

THE Committee of Correspondence of this Town have received the following Intelligence, communicated to them by a Person of Character in this Place. We congratulate you upon the Acquisition of such respectable Aid as the ancient and patriotic Province of *Virginia*, the earliest Resolvers against the detestable Stamp-Act, in Opposition to the unconstitutional Measures of the present Administration. The Authenticity of this Advice you may depend upon, as it was immediately received from one of the Honorable Gentlemen appointed to communicate with the other Colonies.

We are,

Your Friends and humble Servants,

Signed by Direction of the Committee for Correspondence in Boston,

William Cooley, } Town-Clerk

To the Town-Clerk of *Virginia*, to be immediately delivered to the Committee of Correspondence for your Town, if such a Committee is chosen, otherwise to the Gentlemen the Selectmen, to be communicated to the Town.

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman of distinction in *Virginia*, to his Friend in this Town, dated March 14th, 1773.

in order therefore to remove the uneasinesses and to quiet the minds of the people, as well as for the other good purposes above mentioned.

" I RECEIVED the papers * you sent me, and am much obliged to you for them, our assembly sitting a few days after, they were of use to us. You will see by the enclosed Resolutions the true sentiments of this colony, and that we are endeavouring to bring our sister colonies into the strictest union with us, that we may RESENT IN ONE BODY any steps that may be taken by administration to deprive ANY ONE OF US of the least particle of our rights & liberties ; we should have done more but we could procure nothing but news-paper accounts of the proceedings in *Rhode-Island*. I hope we shall not be long kept in the dark for the future, and that we shall have from the different Committees the earliest intelligence of any motion that may be made by the TYRANTS in England to carry their INFERNAL purposes of enslaving us into execution ; I dare venture to assure you the strictest attention will be given on our parts to these grand points."

In the House of Burgesses, in *Virginia* March, 1773.

" WHEREAS the minds of his Majesty's faithful subjects in this colony have been much disturbed by various rumours and reports of proceedings tending to deprive them of their ancient, legal and constitutional rights.

" And whereas the affairs of this colony are frequently connected with those of Great-Britain, as well as of the neighbouring colonies, which renders a communication of sentiments necessary,

" Be it resolved, That a standing committee of correspondence and inquiry be appointed, to consist of eleven persons, viz. the honourable Payton Randolph, Esq; Robert Carter Nicholas, Richard Bland, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, Dudley Digges, Dabney Carr, Archibald Cary, and Thomas Jefferson, Esqrs; any six of whom to be a committee, whose business it shall be to obtain the most early and authentic intelligence of all such acts and resolutions of the British parliament or proceedings of administration, as may relate to, or affect the British colonies in America, and to keep up and maintain a correspondence and communication with our sister colonies, respecting these important considerations, and the result of such their proceedings from time to time to lay before this house.

" Resolved, That it be an instruction to the said committee, that they do, without delay, inform themselves particularly of the principles and authority, on which was constituted a court of inquiry, said to have been lately held in *Rhode-Island*, with powers to transport persons accused of offences committed in America, to places beyond the seas to be tried.

" Resolved, That the Speaker of this House do transmit to the Speakers of the different assemblies of the British colonies, on this continent, copies of the said resolutions, and desire they will lay them before their respective assemblies, and request them to appoint some person or persons of their respective bodies, to communicate from time to time with the said committee.

* The Votes and Proceedings of the Town of Boston, and News-Papers, containing the Governor's Speeches, and the Answers of the two Houses.

the organization of the Committees of Correspondence, however, the people had already become fully united in their determination to prevent the landing of the tea.

On November 5th, 1773, an alarm was raised in the city of New York to the effect that a tea-ship had entered the harbor. A large assembly of the people at once occurred, among whom those in charge of the movement were disguised as Mohawk Indians. This alarm proved a false one, but at a meeting then organized a series of resolutions were adopted which were received by the other Colonies as the initiative step in the plan of resistance already determined upon throughout the country. Our school books are chiefly responsible for the almost universal impression that the destruction of tea, which occurred in Boston Harbor, was an episode confined to that city; while the fact is, that the tea sent to this country was either destroyed or sent back to England from every sea-port in the Colonies. The first tea-ship happened to arrive in Boston and the tea was first destroyed there; for this circumstance full credit should be given the Bostonians. But the fact that the actors in this affair were disguised as Mohawk Indians shows that they were but following the lead of New York, where that particular disguise had been adopted forty-one days before, for the same purpose.

Previous to the arrival of the ships in Boston, concerted action had been agreed upon, as has been already shown, in regard to the destruction of the tea from Charleston, South Carolina, to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The people of Philadelphia had been far more active and outspoken at the outset than they of Boston, and it was this decisiveness which caused the people of Boston to act, after they had freely sought beforehand the advice and moral support of the other Colonies.

The first tea-ship arrived in Boston on November 28th, 1773, and two others shortly after, but it was not until the evening of December 16th, that their contents were thrown overboard at the so-called "Boston Tea-party." The "broadside" here presented is one of a number in the collection of the author, which show fully the feeling of the people of Philadelphia. The other sheets were issued prior to this one but are without date; hence this is selected to prove that Philadelphia was actively engaged in the same purpose, previous to the destruction of tea in Boston.

THE MINUTE MEN

Doubtless the earliest and most pleasing recollections of our youth, in connection with American history, are associated with the "Minute

Men," as they were termed, of New England. These men are pictured to us as ever ready to turn out in force to repel the advance of British troops, at any personal sacrifice, and to serve without pay. It is sad indeed to be instrumental in dispelling so fair a delusion, but there seems to be sufficient evidence to prove that this whole story is but a romance. The New England men did turn out when it was necessary and they made a sturdy fight when called upon to do so, but they did no more than did the people of all the other Colonies under like circumstances.

The proof of this is found in a document giving "the names of those Men that did March on the 19th of April last in consequence of the Alarm made on that Day, who belonged to Ipswich (Mass:) and was commanded by Jonathan Cogswell, Jun^r." Then is given the rank of each person, the number of miles marched, the number of days out, in service, and the number of miles marched in returning, &c. At the bottom of this document is Captain Cogswell's deposition, made December 18, 1775, before John Baker, Justice of the Peace, of Ipswich, as to the correctness of the Roll. On the back of this document we find the following: " Ipswich, May 22nd, 1776. * * * We the subscribers have Rec'd of Capt Cogswell, Jun^r the full of our Wages that was Due to Us for our Marching on the Alarm the nineteenth of April 1775, as Satt down in the within Roll." Then follow the signatures of fifty-six men who were paid for their services.

With this before us the evidence seems almost conclusive that not only were the men of Ipswich paid, but that few if any of those who fought at the battle of Lexington or of Concord did so without the previous assurance of pay for their services. It is proven that no one went out from the town of Ipswich, at least, without compensation, and in so circumscribed a neighborhood it is scarcely possible that the men of other towns would have been willing to render service gratuitously, knowing, as they must, that the men of Ipswich were to be paid. There is no doubt of the fact that at Lexington, and in the neighboring towns, it was known beforehand that the British troops were to make an incursion for the purpose of destroying the military stores. The American authorities, under these circumstances, naturally made every preparation to repel the attack. It was necessary to engage men for this public service, and it was proper and just that they should be paid. No fault can be found with the matter of remuneration, but this contrast of fact and fiction is here offered as another evidence of the false and heroic coloring given to the services rendered by the New England people, during the Revolution, and presented to us as authentic history.

THE EFFICIENCY OF THE NEW ENGLAND TROOPS

We will present a copy of a letter, in the author's possession, written by General Washington to his business agent, Lund Washington, who had charge of Mount Vernon. This letter was written from Cambridge, Mass., shortly after the General had taken command of the army. It is dated August 20th, 1775. The greater part is devoted to detailed directions in regard to the management of the estate and has no bearing on our subject. But the letter is of so much interest that it is reproduced as a whole. It was Washington's custom, as a very methodical man, to preserve a copy of all his letters, especially of those relating to business, and it is very unlikely that no draft was preserved by him of this particular letter to Lund Washington, as well as other letters which are known to exist in private hands.

Mr. Sparks had the private papers of Washington in his possession for years, for the purpose of writing the former's life and of editing his correspondence. Both of these things he did and the latter were published in twelve volumes.

This letter, however, does not appear in Sparks' work, who states in a foot-note that very few of the letters to Lund Washington existed. If this statement is true, it is possible that Washington did not preserve a copy of this particular letter; but the circumstance is a very remarkable one and not at all in keeping with his custom in regard to all his other business letters. If Washington did indeed fail to preserve copies of these letters it was also a very unfortunate circumstance, for he always wrote to Lund Washington, without reserve, upon the people and events of his day. That his habit in this regard was well known needs no stronger confirmation than the fact that the "Spurious Letters of Washington," as they are called—which were first published as original drafts of letters said to have been found in part of Washington's baggage and claimed to have been captured by the British—were all addressed to Lund Washington. The letter here presented shows that Washington did not always write in so guarded a manner as the Sparks version of his correspondence would lead us to believe. With this and other evidence we cannot escape the conclusion, either that Mr. Sparks was, notwithstanding his unique opportunities, very unfairly dealt with by Fate, in the scope and completeness of the correspondence entrusted to his care, or that he himself suppressed those letters which were not to his own individual taste.

Washington wrote as follows:

Camp at Cambridge,

Aug 20 1775

Dear Lund,

Your letter by Capt. Prince came to my hands last Night—I was glad to learn by it that all are well.—the account given of the behaviour of the Scotchmen at Port Tobacco & Piscataway surpriz'd & vexed me—Why did they Imbark in the cause?—what do they say for themselves?—what does others say of them?—are they admitted into Company?—or kicked out of it?—what does their Countrymen urge in justification of them?—They are fertile in invention, and will offer excuses where excuses can be made.—I cannot say but I am curious to learn the reasons why men who had subscribed & bound themselves to each other & their Country, to stand forth in defence of it, should lay down their arms the first moment they were called upon.

Although I never hear of the mill under the direction of Simpson without a degree of warmth & vexation at his extreme stupidity, yet, if you can spare money from other Purposes, I could wish to have it sent to him, that it may, if possible, be set a-going before the works get mixed and spoilt & my whole money perhaps totally lost—If I am really to loose Barron's debt to me, it will be a pretty severe stroke upon the back of Adams, & the expence I am led into by that confounded fellow Simpson, and necessarily so in putting my Lands under the management of Cleveland.—

Spinning should go forward with all possible despatch, as we shall have nothing else to depend upon if these disputes continue another year—I can hardly think that Lord Dunmore can act so low, & unmanly a part, as to think of siezing Mrs. Washington by way of revenge upon me; however, as I suppose she is, before this time gone over to Mr. Calvert's, & will soon after returning go down to New Kent, she will be out of his reach for 2 or 3 Months to come, in which time matters may, & probably will take such a turn as to render her removal either absolutely necessary, or quite useless—I am nevertheless exceedingly thankful to the Gentlemen of Alexandria for their friendly attention to this point & desire you will if there is any sort of reason to suspect a thing of this kind, provide a kitchen for her in Alexandria, or some other place of safety for her and my Papers.—

The People of this Government have obtained a character which they by no means deserved—their officers generally speaking are the most indifferent kind of People I ever saw.—I have already broke one Col^o and five Captains for cowardice, and for drawing more Pay & Provisions than they had Men in their companies.—there is two more Colonels now under arrest, & to be tried for the same offences—in short they are by no means such Troops, in any respect, as you are lead to believe of them from the accts which are published, but I need not make myself Enemies among them, by this declaration, although it is consistent with truth.—I dare say the Men would fight very well (if properly officered) although they are an exceedingly dirty & nasty people.¹—had they been properly conducted at Bunker's Hill (on the 17th of June) or those that were there properly supported, the regulars would have met with a shameful defeat; & a much more considerable loss than they did, which is now known to be exactly 1057. killed & wounded—it was for their behaviour on that occasion that the above officers were broke, for I never spared one that was accused of Cowardice but bro't 'em to immediate Tryal.

Our Lines of Defence are now compleated as near so at least as can be—we now wish them to come out, as soon as they please, but they (that is the enemy) discover no Inclination to quit their own works of Defence; & as it is almost impossible for us to get to them, we do nothing but watch each other's motions all day at the distance of about a mile; every now and then picking of a stragler when we can catch them without their Intrenchments; in return, they often attempt to cannonade our Lines to no other purpose than the waste of a considerable quantity of Powder to themselves which we should be very glad to get.—

What does Dr. Craik say to the behaviour of his countrymen, & Townspeople?—remember me kindly to him, & tell him that I should be very glad to see him here if there was anything worth his acceptance; but the Massachusetts people suffer nothing to go by them that they can lay hands upon.—

I wish the money could be had from Hill, or the Bills of Exchange (except Col. Fairfax's, which ought to be sent to him immediately) turn'd into cash; you might then, I should think, be able to furnish Simpson with about £300; but you are to recollect that I have got Cleveland & the hired People with him to pay also.—I would not have you buy a single bushel of wheat till you can see with some kind of certainty what market the Flour is to go to—and if you cannot find sufficient Employment in repairing the Mill works, and other things of this kind for Mr. Robers and Thomas Alferd,

TO THE
DELAWARE
PILOTS.

TH E Regard we have for your Characters, and our Desire to promote your future Peace and Safety, are the Occasion of this Third Address to you.

IN our second Letter we acquainted you, that the Tea Ship was a Three Decker ; We are now informed by good Authority, she is not a Three Decker, but an *old black Ship, without a Head, or any Ornaments.*

THE Captain is a *short fat Fellow, and a little obstinate withal.*—So much the worse for him.---For, so sure as he *rides rusty,* We shall heave him Keel out, and see that his Bottom be well fired, scrubb'd and paid.---His Upper-Works too, will have an Overhawling.---and as it is said, he has a good deal of *Quick Work* about him, We will take particular Care that such Part of him undergoes a thorough Rummaging.

WE have a still *worse Account of his Owner* ;---for it is said, the Ship **POLLY** was bought by him on Purpose, to make a Penny of us ; and that *he and Captain Ayres* were well advised of the Risque they would run, in thus daring to insult and abuse us.

Captain Ayres was here in the Time of the Stamp-Act, and ought to have known our People better, than to have expected we would be so mean as to suffer his *rotten TEA* to be funnel'd down our Throats, with the *Parliament's Duty* mixed with it.

WE know him well, and have calculated to a Gill and a Feather, how much it will require to fit him for an *American Exhibition.* And we hope, not one of your Body will behave so ill, as to oblige us to clap him in the Cart along Side of the Captain.

WE must repeat, that the **S H I P P O L L Y** is an *old black Ship*, of about Two Hundred and Fifty Tons burthen, *without a Head, and without Ornaments,*---and, that **C A P T A I N A Y R E S** is a *thick chunky Fellow.*-----As such, **TAKE CARE to AVOID T H E M.**

Y O U R O L D F R I E N D S,

THE COMMITTEE FOR TARRING AND FEATHERING.

they must be closely Employed in making cask or working at the Carpenter's or other business—otherwise they must be discharged, for it is not reasonable, as all Mill business will probably be at an end for a while, that I am to pay them £100 a year to be Idle.—I should think Roberts himself must see, and be sensible of the reasonableness of this request, as I believe few Millers will find Employment of our Ports are shut up, & the wheat kept in the straw, or otherwise for greater security.—

I will write to Mr. Milnor to forward you a good Country Boalting Cloth for Simpson—which endeavour to have contrived to him by the first conveyance.—I wish you would quicken Lanphire & Sears about the Dining Room Chimney Piece (to be executed as mentioned in one of my last Letters) as I could wish to have that end of the House compleatly finished before I return.—I wish you had done the end of the New Kitchen with rusticated Boards, however, as it is not, I would have the corners done so in the manner of our new Church, (those two especially which Fronts the Quarter—What have you done with the Well?—is that walled up?—have you any acc^{ts} of the Painter?—how does he behave at Fredericksburg?—

I much approve of your Sowing Wheat in clear ground, although you should be late in doing it, & if for no other purpose than a Tryal—It is a growing I find, as well as a new practice, that of overseers keeping Horses, & for what purpose, unless it be to make fat Horses at my expence, I know not, as it is no saving of my own Horses—I do not like the custom, & wish you would break it—but do as you wish, as I cannot pretend to interfere at this distance;—

Remember me kindly to all the Neighbours who enquire after

Y^r affection^t—friend & Serv^t

G^o Washington

¹ This has reference to a difficulty which seems to have existed in getting the New England troops, at this stage of the war, to realize the necessity for special cleanliness about their quarters.

WEEMS' "LIFE OF WASHINGTON."

Weems, the book peddler, who was not a New England man, wrote for his own ends, one of the most popular books in his so-called "Life of Washington." It is said to have gone through some forty editions, Washington declined, and very naturally, to give him access to his papers; hence Weems was thrown entirely upon the resources of his imagination for the material which he needed. It was natural, therefore, and not diffi-

cult with so free a hand, to make up a good story. Hence the origin of the incident of the Cherry Tree and little hatchet, and other like truthful and popular anecdotes, which have become almost *historical* in our day.

Excuse may be found for Weems on the score of his commercial instinct, the inaccessibility of facts and of his irresponsibility; but what can be said in mitigation of the offence of those New England historians, who have distorted facts, although they had access to all the material necessary to have enabled them to do full justice to others as well as to their own people? These men assumed, and upon them rested, the solemn responsibility of teachers and defenders of historical Truth!

The author here disclaims all prejudice and has no other motive than an earnest desire to establish the truth. This issue is made with the writers of the past and not with the country nor with the people of the present day.

The *true* history of New England is sufficiently great to enable her to look fearlessly into the mirror of Truth, and she can well afford to cast off the meretricious glamour which has been thrown about her by those sons who "loved her not wisely, but too well."

NEW YORK CITY

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, M. D.



EARLY MENTION OF EVENTS AND PLACES IN THE CHAMPLAIN VALLEY.

I

THE origin of place-names, and the reason for them, are always matters of interest. Sometimes we may know both, often only one, and sometimes neither. Frequently a dead and forgotten old resident survives in the name of the hill he built his house on, or of the pond or brook by the side of which he lived, or in the property he once owned, or even in some event in which he was a prominent actor. Thus, the Brigham's of Essex, in Brigham Hill; the Burlings, in Burlington; Count Fredenburgh, in Fredenburgh Falls and M. Chasy, nephew of Tracy, in Chazy, have a kind of immortality. The name of Samuel Champlain is preserved not only in the Lake which is called after him, but in the River Champlain, the Town Champlain, the Village Champlain; and who can give the number of Champlain hotels and streets, in the cities and towns and villages of the United States and of the British Provinces north of us? Also it is interesting that many localities in our very midst have had names in common use for a time, which, later, are lost in oblivion.

For years I have noted place-names and their reputed origin, both curious and suggestive, in our locality; and am constantly adding to them. Quite recently a man in our city spoke of Happy Hill, and another, in a neighboring town, of Pirate's Hollow. Thus I added two to my list, and inquiry revealed their origin. I can give, approximately, the beginning of, and reason for, Providence Island, Gougeville, Molasses Corner, North and South Hero, Johnnycake Street and North Africa. Even The Devil's Half Acre has quite a known history. But I greatly desire information concerning Whig Hollow, Cumberland Head, Beartown, Valcour, Suckertown, The Lost Nation, and many others.

On the western border of Lake Champlain, scarce five miles from its outlet into the Richelieu river, in the town of Champlain, opposite the lower end of Isle La Motte, is a famous headland called Point au Fer, freely rendered into English Point of Iron—Iron Point. But its common and

only name now is the French Point au Fer. No iron is found there, and there is nothing suggestive of the hardness of iron in its shape, or in the ruggedness of its shores. Hadden, Riedesel, Phillips and many others called it Point au Fer only, and I think it proper to consider this to be its real name, in spite of the fact that on a map issued about 1748, from surveys made in 1732, it is called Point au Feu, or, in English, Point of Fire—Fire Point. It may be that the transcribers mistook the final *r* for *u*, an easy mistake when we consider the similarity between *r* and *u* as often found in old manuscripts.

I think I have chanced on the origin of and reason for this place-name. I will present my evidence to you and hope you will agree with me, or disagree, if you have reason to the contrary.

This evidence is found in and based upon, an account in volume 48, pages 99-107, of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," edited by Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society. This volume, 48, came out in July, 1899. The original was the Relation of 1662-63, written by Father Jerome Lalemant, and contains a graphic account of a fierce fight between some Algonquins and a band of Iroquois returning from a raid on Montreal.

Father Lalemant says:

"The Algonquins living at Sillery, after passing the winter in innocence and piety, resolved, towards spring, to go and wage a petty warfare. They were only forty, but their courage exceeded their number. Arriving at the Richelieu Islands without discovering any foe, they entered the river of the same name and directed their course to Lake Champlain, where they lay in ambush. Scarcely had they arrived there when those victors who had dealt their blow at Montreal, and were conducting their poor Frenchmen in triumph, were discovered by our Algonquins, who followed them with their eyes and noted their camping spot. Our Christian soldiers, under cover of the night, stealthily advanced and surrounded the place where the enemy were sleeping, in readiness to attack them at the first dawn of day. But as it is very difficult to walk in the night time without making a noise, or by hitting some branch, one of the Iroquois chiefs was awakened in some way or other. He was a brave man named Garistatsia ("the Iron"), vigilant and greatly renowned for his exploits performed against us and against our savages. The chief of the Algonquins, perceiving that the leader of the Iroquois was this Garistatsia—or in French Le Fer, so famous and renowned by the many disasters that have so often made us mingle our tears with our blood, made straight at him and by a hatchet

stroke on the head, forced Garistatsia to fall to the ground, where his courage forbade him to acknowledge himself vanquished, and he yielded the victory after losing his life. Ten of the enemy remained dead on the spot, while three were taken alive, and the rest escaped, completely covered with wounds."

This was a terrific engagement, though short. It evidently occurred on the west shore of Lake Champlain, between a band of Iroquois raiders returning over land from Montreal and a band of Algonquins, who, coming up the Richelieu, had "scarcely arrived" at Lake Champlain. These latter proceeded to surround the Iroquois. How much more easily surrounded on a point than on a continuous shore! The leader of the Iroquois "was famous and renowned." He had "so often made us" *i. e.* both French and Algonquins, "mingle our tears with our blood!" So well known was he that the leader of the Algonquins, even in the dark, "made straight at him"—in order to rid the country of this distinguished enemy.

Therefore, I think it not unreasonable to claim that this battle, in the year 1663, was fought on the cape on the west border of Lake Champlain opposite the lower portion of Isle La Motte, known now and for so many years as Point au Fer, and that the cape received its appellation from that of the mighty Iroquois chief killed there—"Garistatsia, or in French Le Fer."

II

The matter of prehistoric occupation of the Valley of Lake Champlain has received considerable attention during the last twenty-five years. Before that time, historians would refer to Champlain's vague statements concerning the enemies of his Algonquin allies residing around the mountains in the east and south, and then state that but few vestiges remained of ancient occupation. But later researches have revealed the fact that this valley was once quite thickly populated. I know of at least forty-five dwelling sites, the greater portion of which I have located and visited. The larger part of these are on, or near, the Lake itself; but there are, also, many on the rivers and smaller streams and lakes; and some at a distance from any even moderately large body of water. The evidence of former dwelling sites consists of stone implements and weapons, and chippings scattered over small areas—say of half an acre or more. One such site exists on the River Richelieu, in the Parish of St. Valentine, near Isle aux Noix, twelve miles below Rouses Point. From this place alone I have obtained several hundred stone implements and weapons, some of them very fine.

Another is at the mouth of the Big Chazy River, near Point au Fer. It was October 5, 1881, that I first discovered this dwelling site, and in two hours I picked up about thirty stone axes and many chipped flints; and had not the night come on, I should have obtained at least twice as many at that visit. To an ardent collector, so many things almost beseeching to be gathered furnished an experience not readily forgotten. I presume that any of you would have done as I did. You would have taken off your shoes and stockings, and found with your feet, stone axes in the clay mud of the bottom, and picked them out with your hands; and would have wished the sun to stand still at least an hour, in order that you might obtain more.

Another place is on a high sand plain in the town of Ausable, New York. Here the ground is white with quartzite chippings over many acres, though this locality has furnished but few perfect implements.

From Colchester Point upon the Ouinooski river, certainly as far as Williston, the soil abounds in celts, chippings and wrought flints. But to locate and describe all the known sites would require far too much time, and I presume the half of them have not been discovered.

However, in many particulars, the most important prehistoric dwelling place in our Valley is that on the shore of Cumberland Bay, partly within the present limits of the city of Plattsburgh. Here was a sand ridge a mile long, from twenty to forty rods wide, fifteen to twenty-five feet high, having a sluggish stream abounding in fish on its landward side, and the wide bay opening out into the broad lake, on the other. The greyish white sand between the pines on the ridge and the waters of the bay, was a conspicuous object for miles out on the lake. About thirty-five years ago some of the pines were cut off, and the wind made openings through and through the ridge at right angles to the axis of its length. Then it was seen that here was once a great village, covering the whole ridge. Below the old surfaces were vast quantities of flint chippings, arrow and spear points, axes, pottery, fire-places, kitchen middens, and other evidences of ancient occupation. From this site alone, I have secured fragments of hundreds of edge pieces of different jars of pottery, and thousands of wrought implements of stone.

In our early researches, where the sand had not been blown out down to the level of the lake, there were seen heaps of cobble stones, arranged in some order, each perhaps consisting of a bushel or more of sand stones that had been heated by fire. These heaps rested in sand and ashes blackened

by charcoal, but never, in a single instance did they contain flints, wrought stones or pottery. In other words, these were not kitchen middens.

For years, I supposed this place to have been prehistoric, as it mostly was. But in 1885, the Prince Society of Boston, in its invaluable series of historical publications, printed "Radisson's Voyages." Now, Peter Esprit Radisson was a Frenchman of roving disposition, who came from France to Canada in 1651. He made several "voyages," as he calls them, going through Lake Champlain to the Iroquois country; and again to Lake

• Huron and Lake Superior; and, I believe, overland to Hudson's Bay, in his various journeyings. But he did what we wish more of those early adventurers had done. He left a written account of his experiences. This record was made partly in French and partly in English and is very full of interest. In the year 1652, he was out hunting on the St. Lawrence River, one day, was made prisoner and taken up the Richelieu, through Lake Champlain and thence to the country of the Iroquois. I quote from his "Relation of My Voyage being in Bondage in the hands of the Iroquois." After being captured (and his captivity seems to have been a pleasant one from beginning to end), he says: "Midday wee came to the River of Richelieu, where we weare not farr gone, but met a new gang of their people in cottages" (village No. 1). After a day and a night, he continues: "Our journey was indifferent good without any delay, w'ch caused us to arrive in a good and pleasant harbour. It was on the side of the sand where our people had any paine scarce to errect their cottages, being that it was a place they had sejourned at before." (Village No. 2). The next day, he says: "At 3 of the clock in the afternoon we came to a rappid stremme, where we were forced to land and carry our Equipages and boats through a dangerous place. Wee had not any encounter that day. Att night where we found cottages ready made (village No. 3), there I cutt wood with all dilligence. The morning early following, we marched wth making great noise, or singing as accustomed. Sejourning awhile, we came to a lake 6 leagues wide, about it a very pleasant country, imbellished with great forests. * * * * We arrived to a fine sandy bancke, where not long before Cabbanes weare erected and places made where Prisoners weare tyed." (Village No. 4.)

"In this place our wild people sweated after the maner following: first heated stones till they were redd as fire, then they made a lantherne with small sticks, then stoaring the place with deale trees, saving a place in the middle, whereinto they put the stoanes, and covered the place with small covers, then striped themselves naked, went into it. They made a noise as

if ye devil weare there; after they being there for an hour they came out of the watter. I thought veryly they weare incensed. It is their usual custom. * * * * In the night they heard some shooting, which made them embark themselves speedily. In the meanwhile they made me lay downe whilst they rowed very hard. I slept securely till morning, when I found meselfe in high rushes. There they stayed without noise."

Now, this "rappid streame" was the Chamblly Rapids.

This 3d village, in my opinion, was that site below Isle Aux Noix, in the parish of St. Valentine, which I have spoken of. Villages No. 1 and No. 2 I have never visited. The lake "imbellished with great forests," was Champlain. The "fine sandy bancke, where not long before cabbanes weare erected," was, I feel certain, this great dwelling place on Cumberland Bay. The heaps of fire stones that I have mentioned could easily have been those made use of by "our wild people" when they "sweated after the maner following:" and where Radisson found himself in "high rushes" the morning after, may have been at the mouth of the Ausable; or of the Lamoille, or of the Ouinooski.¹

III

For some time I have endeavoured to make an annual visit to Fort Ticonderoga and its neighborhood. September, October and November, before the ground freezes, when the lake is usually the lowest, are the best portions of the year for searching there. On the shores between high and low water marks around the Ticonderoga promontory; at Wright's Point and on the Orwell shore opposite, the earth is black with flints. These are arrow and spear heads, knives, hammer stones and immense quantities of flakes. But few of the implements are perfect. I account for this condition because of the great numbers of soldiers there in the old wars. As you know, it was their practice to select the best arrow and spear heads and break them into pieces suitable for their flintlocks. But the native flint exists in great abundance in the limestone rocks of the locality; and so it was that, for centuries, the Indians resorted to this region, lived there and made weapons and implements for their own use, and for traffic with other savages passing by. I have obtained 2500 chipped stone implements from these shores alone. One November day, 1896, two of left Plattsburgh by train at 8.30 A. M., reached Fort Ticonderoga at 10.30, picked up 575 wrought flints, and returning, got home at 6.15 the same evening. So, while I have considered that the great dwelling site in Plattsburgh was the most important for the manufacturing of pottery, and probably had the

¹ Winooski is the modern spelling.

largest population of any village in the valley, yet certainly the Ticonderoga region surpassed it in the making of chipped implements. On this day of which I speak, my companion stopped on Mount Independence, while I pushed over to the Orwell shore, perhaps a hundred rods away. And, by the way, let me say that the historic ruins on Mount Independence are nearly as interesting as those on the Ticonderoga promontory. I could not see the gentleman on the mountain because of the trees, but when I called out to him, not only his reply came to me, but my voice echoed back first, so quickly, so distinctly and with such force as to startle me. It was uncanny.

Turning again to the Jesuit Relations, this time to Volume 51, pages 179-183; in the Relation of 1667-68, written by Francis Mercier, we find an account of the experiences of Fathers Fremin, Pierron and Bruyas, three Jesuits, on the way to the Iroquois country. It was one of these fathers who wrote from Ste. Anne, Isle La Motte, August 12, 1667, the interesting letter, a translation of which was printed in the Burlington Free Press of August 22, 1902.

Father Mercier says: "The Fathers Fremin, Pierron and Bruyas having set out to go to the lower Iroquois—and having been detained for a long time in Fort Sainte Anne at the entrance to Lake Champlain * * * left the fort at last." Then he quotes from their journal: "About four o'clock in the afternoon we embarked to go and take shelter at a league distance from the last fort of the French—which is that of Sainte Anne * * We gaily crossed this entire great lake, which is already too renowned by reason of the shipwreck of several of our Frenchmen, and, quite recently, by that of Sieur Corlart, commandant of a hamlet of the Dutch near Agnie, who, on his way to Quebec for the purpose of negotiating some important affairs, was drowned while crossing a large bay, where he was surprised by a storm. Arriving within three-quarters of a league of the Falls by which Lake St. Sacrement empties, we all halted without knowing why, until we saw our savages at the water side gathering up flints, which were almost all cut into shape. We did not at that time reflect upon this, but have since learned the meaning of the mystery, for our Iroquois told us that they never fail to halt at this place to pay homage to a race of invisible men who dwell there at the bottom of the lake. These beings occupy themselves in preparing flints, nearly all cut, for the passers by, provided the latter pay their respects to them by giving them tobacco. If they give these beings much of it, the latter give them a liberal supply of these stones. These water men travel in canoes, as do the Iroquois; and when their great

captain proceeds to throw himself into the water to enter his palace, he makes so loud a noise that he fills with fear the minds of these who have no knowledge of this great spirit and of these little men. * * * The occasion of this ridiculous story is the fact that the lake in reality is often agitated by very frightful tempests, which cause fearful waves, and when the wind comes from the direction of the lake, it drives on the beach quantities of stones which are hard, and capable of striking fire."

Now, this place where the fathers "sheltered themselves at a league's distance" from Fort Sainte Anne, may have been Cumberland Head. The bay in which "Sieur Corlart" was drowned has been considered to be Willsborough Bay. Allow me to state that Arendt Van Corlaer ("Sieur Corlart") came to his death in this very year, 1667, in which these Jesuits saw the savages at the water side gathering up flints." So the Indians 235 years ago had an established custom of picking up flint implements around Ticonderoga; the same practice that I have indulged in, perhaps quite as successfully without having to offer tobacco to a race of invisible men; and the "loud noises" which their "great captain" made when he proceeded to throw himself into the water to enter his palace and "which filled with fear the minds of those who have no knowledge of this Great Spirit and of these little men," may have been an echo, like that marvelous one which came back to me from Mount Independence, on that November day, so loud and distinct as to seem uncanny.

I have thus grouped these three different parts although they may not be homogeneous. In some degree they unite the present with the early historic and prehistoric past of the Champlain Valley. I understand that the United States Government is soon to issue a large volume of Place-Names, and such work is highly to be commended. What an immense number our own localities could furnish to be thus preserved!

In the early Voyages, Journals, Relations and Letters are references to many known locations. But, for instance, should Radisson, or the Jesuit Relations or even Hadden, go to new editions during the next half century, the present notes, though copious, would seem meagre and inadequate, compared with what should then appear.

Concerning matters prehistoric, I hope I have said enough to reveal what a vast field for research lies almost untouched at our very doors.

DAVID S. KELLOGG, M. D.

Read before the Vt. Hist. Society.

LINCOLN.

A young backwoodsman, tall and strong of limb,
We find him in the wilds of Illinois,
So brave, so faithful oft men said of him,
"A man while yet a boy."

A man, indeed, while moving upward still,
They gazed at his advance with wondering eyes,
And saw his lofty aims, his steadfast will,
With glad surprise.

He reached the summit in a crucial hour,
When clouds and darkness hung above the land,
And proved himself to all a man of power,
Who could command.

He loved his country, not some special part
More dear than others, but the glorious whole.
He gave to save the Union, all his heart,
His brain, his soul.

In one brief respite from the awful strain,
The foul assassin's bullet—then the end.
And all the wide world mourned, and mourned in vain,
The nation's friend.

But was it all in vain, when proudly waves
The flag he loved—full starred—from shore to shore?
When North and South clasp hands o'er heroes' graves,
Would he ask more?

MARY ISABELLA FORSYTH.

The Christian Intelligencer.

CAPTAIN ABRAHAM LINCOLN *versus* PRIVATE LORENZO DOW THOMPSON

THE STORY OF A CELEBRATED CONTEST

WHILE searching for material affecting the history of the Black Hawk War, of course I found the stereotyped version of the noted wrestling match between Captain Abraham Lincoln and an obscure private from the St. Clair company of Captain William Moore; the same published in Nicolay and Hay's Life of Lincoln. But not until too late for my purpose did I secure its details with anything like accuracy. A long course of investigation has just rewarded me with the facts.

The match was celebrated, the State over, long before Lincoln became famous and it must be admitted a pleasure to turn from the serious man, to the early, robust Lincoln; the young man of stature and strength, informal as he was when just reaching man's estate and in possession of his first prize in life.

It may seem ridiculous to class the modest office of captain of a company of sixty day volunteers, as a proud position, yet Leonard Swett has told us the day of Lincoln's election to such a position in 1832, was the proudest of the latter's life.

When Governor Reynolds called out the militia to remove Black Hawk and his band from Illinois soil, "dead or alive," Abraham Lincoln as he has told us, was "out of a job," and enlistment therein invited him to place, adventure and perhaps renown. A company of sixty-eight intractable spirits (two more were added subsequently), was organized in Sangamon County and enrolled on April 21st, of which Lincoln was elected captain and from which he was expected to exact discipline. His First Sergeant was John Armstrong, the gentleman who had undertaken with disastrous personal results, to introduce Lincoln to New Salem "life" through the medium of a wrestling match. William Kirkpatrick, said to have filched a cant-hook from Lincoln, as well as the latter's rival in the contest for captain, was another. The Clary boys, Royal and William, who acted disagreeable parts at the Armstrong function, were of the number, while as though smiling at the joke of it, "Pleasant" Armstrong was another private. Finally from the sentimental side we find the names of

John M. and David Rutledge to add to the list. Truly a picturesque crowd!

Once organized, the company was marched to Beardstown to be sworn into the service of the State by Inspector General John J. Hardin, where too the captain fell in with such men as O. H. Browning, Edward D. Baker, Adam W. Snyder, John Dement, Gov. Carlin and others who became famous in the history of the State and Nation. At that point the companies were formed into regiments and moved toward "The Yellow Banks" *en route* for the mouth of Rock River where Captain Lincoln was to meet General Henry Atkinson, and Lieut.-Col. Zachary Taylor, as well as Lieutenant Robert Anderson, Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, Captain William S. Harney, Lieut. Albert Sidney Johnston and many others who were to be prominent in his future during the great crisis of our country.

In referring to the nights of that period, O. H. Browning in his journal of May 2d, wrote that they were "cold and tempestuous;" so that choice camping grounds, affording wood and water, were eagerly sought and when found, the scramble for their possession was spirited.

At, or just out of Beardstown, the companies of Captain Lincoln and Captain William Moore from St. Clair County, came upon just such a camping ground simultaneously and for its occupation a strife arose of course. With the propensity for free fights, usual to those days, it may appear miraculous at this day that such an affray was avoided; but as Captain Lincoln felt his official oats at the time and may have desired to reap a little personal advantage from the collision, he proposed to Captain Moore that "'captain for captain,' the matter should be settled by a match."

But as every rule of wrestling forbade a contest so unequal, Captain Moore, who declined, suggested as a substitute the selection of a man from each company. That appeared fair enough and with a metaphorical chip on his shoulder Captain Lincoln selected himself to represent his company, while Captain Moore who was not an authority on "wrestling form," turned over the function of selection to his brother, Jonathan Moore, Orderly Sergeant.

The latter knew his business even though a shout of derision went up from Lincoln's men when the champion was produced. When led up for slaughter, the victim was found to be just above medium height and weight and so unobtrusive and guileless that I had almost forgotten to mention his name:—Lorenzo Dow Thompson of St. Clair County.

Captain Lincoln chortled and gave the upstart a look of such fine scorn that the poor fellow should have been sorry for living and had the affair been one of to-day we surely could have heard the captain shout "what a cinch!" when the books were opened for bets.

Jonathan Moore was called to referee the match which was to consist of "best two in three" falls. He tossed up a coin, winning choice of "holts" for Thompson, who chose "side holt." Lincoln's was "Indian holt," and generally speaking it was a scrappy sort of a "holt" too. At once a great scramble followed among Lincoln's men to lay their bets before Captain Moore's men got "scart." But Captain Moore's men refused to get "scart." In fact there was a very suspicious degree of firmness and unanimity in their opinion of "Dow" Thompson's ability to take care of himself and any loose change his friends might put up on him; so up went powder-horns, guns, watches, coats, horses, pay-rolls and reputations until there remained not one solitary article of property in possession or expectancy thereof which had not been put into the pot on that match.

To increase the zest of his men for gaming, Captain Lincoln who was cock-sure of victory, had urged them to offer odds and discount the future all they could, and the men did it. Then the combatants grappled—side holt,—Thompson's choice.

They see-sawed. The spectators shouted. Momentarily Lincoln's men bantered Thompson with words of encouragement, "just to drag the sport out and get their money's worth," but when they discovered their error there appeared a temporary inspiration by the Clary boys to meddle. The Armstrong boys wanted to get busy as the contest proceeded, but before any of these meddlers could devise a plan, the long legs of the captain cleft the air and in the very next instant Thompson had him fairly upon the ground. The din which followed would have silenced a thunderstorm.

As said of the boy who fell down cellar:—he did not hurt himself, but *did* hurt his new pants, so it might be said of the chagrined captain after that first fall. His person had not been harmed but the disaster to his feelings was something dreadful. Particularly harmful because the crowd to witness it had quadrupled several times, each installment adding a few words of humiliation. Defeat in the presence of a few friends would have been dreadful, but surrounded by an army and he a captain, it was a catastrophe. Even the swagger back to the center did not square it. His friends shouted: "That's only one fall, while two more are due." That encouragement did not place his confidence *in statu quo*. But he made his

bluff by stating icily when he had secured his "holt:" "Now Mr. Thompson, it's your turn to go down."

The Indian hug or "holt" did not work at all however. In fact the patronizing captain was kept busy trying to keep his feet solid against the multitude of tricks which Thompson had up his sleeve to thwart the captain's favorite "holt." At last it was abandoned as altogether useless.

The redoubtable captain followed with a "crotch-holt," but that terrible device was resisted as easily as water runs from a duck's back. A trick called "sliding away," was introduced, only to confirm the growing opinion of the spectators that the doughty wrestler from Sangamon had met his master.

A moment of indecision followed, the slipping of a mental cog, so to speak,—just enough to allow the despised St. Clair man to get in his fine work, and once more the legs of the valiant captain rose in the air and both men fell to the ground in a heap.

"Dog fall!" yelled Lincoln's men.

"Fair fall!" retorted Moore's men.

A free fight was imminent, but Lincoln, disgruntled and defeated though he was—in one fall at least—was a "good loser." Springing to his feet before the referee could act, he cried: "Boys! The man actually threw me once fairly; broadly so, and this second time—this very fall, he threw me fairly though not apparently so." That settled the matter and the frankness of the speaker saved him his reputation although his men had lost all their available property.

On the 8th day of August, 1860, Professor Risdon Marshall Moore, then of McKendree College (now of San Antonio, Texas), son of the referee, Jonathan Moore, called upon Mr. Lincoln at the latter's house in Springfield with a delegation of college men, devotedly attached to Mr. Lincoln's cause. In introducing Prof. Moore, Lieutenant Governor Koerner added, "of St. Clair County."

Prof. Moore then stated: "Mr. Lincoln, we have called to see the next President." To which Mr. Lincoln replied: "You must go to Washington to see the next President."

During this and other conversation which followed, Mr. Lincoln eyed Prof. Moore constantly with a suspicious twinkle of the eye, after which he asked: "Which of the Moore families do you belong to? I have a grudge against one of them."

Professor Moore replied with a still merrier twinkle: "I suppose it is my family you have the grudge against, but we are going to elect you President and call it even."

There were present at that meeting the same O. H. Browning who had witnessed the match nearly thirty years before, Norman B. Judd, Richard J. Oglesby and some others, to all of whom Mr. Lincoln related the story as herein told, concluding with these words: "I owe that Moore family a grudge, as I never had been thrown in a wrestling match until the man from that company did it. He could have thrown a grizzly bear."

Poor Thompson! He migrated to Harrison County, Missouri, and became its first representative in the General Assembly of the State in 1846 was re-elected in 1848. He was also a member of the first grand jury of the county. Politically he was called an anti-Benton Democrat. Positive in all his convictions, he was called eccentric toward the end of his life, but all who knew him testify that he was able, upright and a good neighbor and citizen.

In 1875 he died in indigence at the age of 65 and his body lies in Oakland cemetery six miles north of Bethany.

Singularly enough, we are told that to the same point migrated one Peter Rutledge who claimed to be brother to Ann Rutledge.

In the early history of Illinois, the Moores were known as the "fighting Moores," by reason of their daring in the Indian war of 1812-14 and the border troubles which were constantly menacing our frontier.

Jonathan Moore who was born in Georgia, Nov. 20, 1799, was one of the number. He moved to Illinois in 1812, served in the Black Hawk War and enlisted in the Mexican War, but his company was rejected because troops enough had already been sent to the front.

At the breaking out of the Civil War, he enlisted and was made captain of company "G" Thirty-second Illinois Infantry and served at Shiloh and other hard fought engagements.

CHICAGO.

FRANK E. STEVENS.

P. S.—I wish to express my indebtedness to Gen. Henry Cadle, of Bethany, Mo., for valuable favors connected with this story.

SIDE-LIGHTS ON CAROLINA HISTORY

MY object in the following paper is not to present a summary of South Carolina history, enumerating well-known dates and facts already recorded by much better writers, but rather to furnish sundry varied items of information which, while not themselves entitled to rank as history, may yet serve a useful purpose as side-lights upon history proper.

South Carolina has always occupied an almost unique position in the family of States. Geographically small, numerically weak, she has nevertheless managed to make her influence felt throughout the Federation.

Thus much concerning her is known to the world at large, but the very peculiar conditions which existed for many years within her borders are not so generally known to outsiders. Yet it is these conditions which to a great extent moulded State character and influenced State politics. Indeed they are the key without which it would be impossible to explain many anomalies, in both her political and social history.

Presenting an unbroken front to the world, a solid unit on all questions of national policy, within herself she was divided into two jarring and irreconcilable factions. How this sectional antagonism originated, or when it first showed itself it is impossible to say. But the unnatural animosity once developed, the exceptional conditions existing in the State were unfortunately calculated to aggravate and perpetuate it. The root of the evil was that old grudge of the mass against class. Broadly speaking, the wealth and cultivation of South Carolina were confined to a single section of the State instead of being scattered throughout the whole. Orders and degrees of men have existed in all times and in all lands, but in South Carolina they were, so to speak, geographically distributed—the “orders” being found in the interior, and the “degrees” along the sea-board.

Thus, socially considered, a very broad line of demarcation separated the State into two distinct sections; and in many respects in manners, in habits, even in speech, the people of the two differed widely one from the other.

Along the coast lay the great rice-plantations, containing thousands of acres and worked by hundreds of slaves; their proprietors constituting the landed aristocracy of the State. In the interior, the plantations were

smaller, there were fewer slaves, and their owners were "farmers" rather than "planters," devoting themselves to the cultivation of a variety of crops instead of confining their efforts to the exclusive production of a single staple.

Thus in a very important particular South Carolina differed from both Virginia and Georgia—the two members of the State-sisterhood which in many respects she most closely resembled: for in Georgia the sea-board bore so small a proportion to the interior that the influence of the coast-dwellers could not be a very appreciable factor in the general equation. And in Virginia, a difference of climate produced a corresponding difference in the mode of life of the country gentry—Virginia planters for the most part making their homes on their plantations the year round, whereas Carolina planters were compelled by considerations of health to abandon their plantations during the summer months. Though some went no farther than to settlements among the pine woods or along the seashore near at hand, the great majority either spent their summers in Charleston—the center of South Carolina refinement and cultivation—or traveled abroad into the great outside world, thereby rubbing off their rusticity and keeping themselves in touch with passing events and current interests. Necessarily, the combined advantages of wealth, education and travel produced in the coast-folk a polish of manner and a breadth of mind not possessed by the dwellers of the interior of the State who, year in and year out, vegetated contentedly on their native soil.

The difference between the denizens of the two sections was inevitable. The trouble was that, instead of regarding their superior advantages as entailing upon them corresponding duties towards their less favored neighbors, the people of the sea-board arrogated to themselves the position of critics, and looked down with scarcely veiled condescension and contempt upon their rustic brethren of the interior; by whom, it is unnecessary to say, this attitude was deeply resented.

But having meted out the blame that of right belonged to the "low-country" in this matter, justice demands the statement that—as in all family disputes—the provocation was by no means entirely on one side. Except in the matter of politics, the coast had little in common with the interior. As a class, the people of the "up-country" were ignorant and unpolished. Their lack of breeding disgusted, their want of cultivation repelled, their marvelous thrift and instinct for money-getting absolutely bewildered the low-country intelligence. And when brought together the people of the coast recoiled with the feeling that they were in contact with an alien race.

Both sections were in fault and both paid the penalty. The development of the interior was greatly retarded by its obstinate antagonism to all that savored of the more advanced civilization of the coast; and the coast suffered in its turn, by frequently finding itself in a weak minority as regarded measures of sectional advantage. Each faction of the State Legislature was determined to consult solely its own interests whenever these appeared to conflict.

Such was the condition of affairs up to the period of the Civil War. At its close, a new era dawned in the life of South Carolina. Previous conditions were now reversed. The sea-board—formerly the garden spot of the State—was left depopulated, beggared, ruined; while the interior had escaped from the terrible ordeal almost unscathed.

It was also evident that in recuperative power, there could be no comparison between the two sections; the conditions which had formerly operated adversely to the progress of the interior now conducing to its development.

First, and chief of its advantages, were to be reckoned climatic conditions permitting of white agricultural labor.

Secondly, the greatly lessened disparity in numbers between whites and blacks in its population.

Thirdly, a hardier and more homely mode of life, which enabled its people to adapt themselves with greater readiness to the new order of things.

Fourthly, the varied character of its industries; and

Lastly, a staple (cotton) naturally suggestive of manufacturing enterprise.

When these combined advantages are taken into account, and the section possessing them compared with the coast, whose sole source of revenue lay in the fertile, but miasma-laden rice fields, for the cultivation of which negro labor was an absolute necessity, it is seen at once how completely "old things had passed away!"

The mere reversal of former conditions, however, was certainly not calculated in itself to heal the sectional breach. But, fortunately, ameliorating agencies were at work—the gradual spread of education—increasing intercourse between the sections, the result of improved facilities of travel, and also of business enterprises in which both were interested. And far above and beyond all else in mollifying power, the four years of fellowship

in suffering for a common cause, which linked the erstwhile jarring sections together in a closer brotherhood than would probably have been brought about by generations of peace and prosperity.

The frightful race-problems with which South Carolina found herself confronted at the close of the Civil War, and the grim burlesque of government which followed, known as the "Reconstruction" period, during which chaos and crime ran riot in the land, served to weld still more firmly the new made bond. And when in 1876, after years of almost superhuman patience under provocation, the people of South Carolina decided that endurance had ceased to be a virtue, and rose in their righteous indignation; and in the face of overwhelming odds, by one supreme effort the State righted herself, "low-country" and "up-country" rejoiced together in true fraternal spirit.

Since that time the bond has continued to strengthen. And instead of being as of old, "a house divided against itself," the State of South Carolina is gradually becoming one harmonious and homogeneous whole.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

In the peculiar internal State-relations which we have been considering, South Carolina was unique. But in the social and domestic conditions now to be described, she was a true type and representative of the other Southern States.

It is an accepted truth that in all lands economic conditions determine social relations. In the South, the stability of the former insured a corresponding stability in the latter. To borrow a figure from geology, there were no "faults" in the stratification of Southern society. Each stratum rested secure and well-defined upon the one beneath it, with none of the perplexing sudden "dips" and "outcroppings," common in other parts of America. In that land of belated nineteenth century chivalry and feudalism, the long-explored axiom that it took "three generations to make a gentleman" still held sway as the law governing social usage. As is the case with all laws, however, there were exceptions to this one. Men of force of character and intellectual gifts stepped over class barriers at one stride, and took their place at once in the very fore front of the social ranks.

Divisions and subdivisions of society existed, but into these intricate complexities it is not necessary to enter here. Enough to say that the "upper-crust" was composed exclusively of the landed proprietors and professional men. Of trade, this class had a holy horror, although they recog-

nized "degrees" in infamy; holding with Cicero that, while the "retail" trader was to be regarded as "unmitigatedly base," the "wholesale" trader might be accounted "mitigatedly" so.

Next to this topmost layer came the factors. The factor combined in his own person the functions of banker, commission merchant, and general factotum. He sold the planter's crop, invested his proceeds, negotiated his loans, and advanced him money when required. Socially, the factor was the connecting link between the mercantile class and the landed gentry, to whom, indeed, he was often closely allied by blood. For it was the Southern custom to pass into a counting-house and thereby convert into "factors," such planters' sons as were considered incapable of receiving a classical or professional education, and showed no special aptitude for any particular calling.

Below the factor class were innumerable gradations gradually descending until, at the bottom of the social scale, were to be found the poor whites, or "crackers," as they were contemptuously termed. Of this element nothing need be said, as its influence was *nil*; the Old South being practically composed of but two classes—its aristocracy and its negroes.

In those old days the tone of public morals was pure and high. As a rule, a Southern gentleman's word was as good as his bond; for any imputation on his honor he regarded as a disgrace, and disgrace was the one thing he dared not face. To these people wealth was not the be-all and the end-all of existence. Not that they underrated its importance or despised its advantages, but their whole manner of life was a protest against making wealth the standard by which to gauge the sum of human achievement, affixing, as it were, a money value to all things in the heavens above and in the earth beneath.

Again, they were—not obstructionists indeed—but strong conservatives; holding that change is not necessarily synonymous with improvement, but that it sometimes means retrogression rather than advance. And holding this creed, they were not carried away by every vagary which presented itself, whether masquerading in the guise of social panacea or political hocus-pocus.

The conditions of Southern life naturally tended to produce and foster individuality, and perhaps the most marked trait in Southern character was an almost fierce independence and a hot resentment of any semblance of control. The Southerner was quick tempered and somewhat over hasty in taking offence at fancied slights. But there was nothing vindictive or mal-

evolent in his nature, and, his outburst of temper over, if cool reflection showed him to have been in the wrong, he did not hesitate frankly to acknowledge himself in fault, and make ample apology for his mistaken judgment and hot words. As a class, Southerners undoubtedly held a very good opinion of themselves; and sometimes, where mental ballast was lacking, this comfortable consciousness of being at quits with the world went to the head, and effervesced in silly superciliousness and irritating condescension. But for the most part, the people bore themselves with irreproachable courtesy and the quiet dignity which springs from self-respect. As a race they were a brave, fearless people, truthful, honest, and generous to a fault.

Besides this common heritage however, the folk of the Carolina coast possessed certain endowments peculiarly their own—a finished grace of manner, a keen sense of humor, and a power of quick repartee—their birth-right by virtue of descent from a Huguenot ancestry. This French element was in truth, a very appreciable quantity in the Carolina equation, exercising considerable formative influence on character as well as manners. Unlike the French settlers in other parts of the United States, the Carolina Huguenots, notwithstanding the inhospitable reception given them on their arrival in the colony, held their own manfully in their adopted country; and soon established such friendly relations with their English neighbors, that in the course of a generation or so, by intermarriage with these, they had ceased to be a distinctive class of the population, and were only to be traced by their French names, which they had bestowed upon half the families in the lower section of the State.

One trait remains to be mentioned—a trait common to the entire South. I allude to the ardent patriotism and intense State-love of the people. This is proved by the records of the Civil War, which show how gladly substance and life were both devoted to the service of their beloved country. Even now, a thrill runs through one, at the recollection of the heroic self-sacrifice and whole-hearted devotion of the united Southern people to their “Lost Cause.”

CHARLESTON, S. C.

H. E. BELIN

(Conclusion next month.)

INDIAN AGRICULTURE IN SOUTHERN WISCONSIN

EARLY writers and travellers were lamentably negligent in recording many phases of Indian life which it would be desirable to know, especially those related to the economic activities of these primitive people. An undue amount of "historical divination" is required in arriving at satisfactory or even plausible conclusions concerning some of these matters. The real influence which aboriginal agriculture exercised upon the exploration, settlement, and development of the Western lands, is well worth our study. The new comer often received therefrom suggestions as to what crops would most likely flourish on the various soils and in the different rain-belts; not to mention the direct effect upon lines of supplies bought or stolen from the retreating tribes—these are interesting questions, but we must not expect much specific information concerning them. The methods of hunting and fighting; of making weapons, utensils, and implements; of dancing, singing, wooing, are all told by early chroniclers with painstaking minuteness and detail, but the products of the soil are noticed by them only in parenthetical phrases or general observations. There is hardly a line yet found, relating to the agricultural tools used, or the sort of ground chosen for fields—absolutely nothing as to yield, and next to nothing concerning the importance of these crops to the Indians themselves.

For a long time the Sauk and Foxes had their principal villages near the Wisconsin River, at the east end of Sauk Prairie, just opposite the northwest corner of Dane County. These Indians were somewhat above the average of the tribes of this region in civilization; they lived in more compact and larger settlements, hence naturally depended more on their corn-fields than did their more nomadic neighbors to the west. Their corn was planted along the edge of the woods which fringe the Wisconsin, and this belt is choice corn-land to-day. Some small parts of it have been kept in grass from the time of the earlier white settlement, and in those places old Indian corn-hills may still be seen, the sod holding them in shape. The Indian cultivated the growing corn by hoeing toward the hill; and as this became the mellowest spot, the corn was planted each succeeding year in the same little mound, which grew to be a foot or more in height.

"There was a large settlement of Sauk at the lower end of Sauk

Prairie. I have often examined the remains of their tillage there, and should suppose they raised corn in one lot of at least four hundred acres * * * the four hundred acres is covered with well formed, regular corn-hills." ¹ Just what this writer means by "regular" is not quite clear—probably that the hills were of uniform size, and approximately the same distance apart, for it does not appear that the Indians often planted corn in rows, there being, with their mode of culture, very little occasion for such methods.² The Indians of northern Michigan at the present day generally care for their corn much as did their ancestors of a century ago; and the few who attempt its cultivation with a horse cultivator do not take the precaution to plant the corn in rows, but run here and there wherever there happens to be sufficient room between the hills.

Whether or not the Wisconsin Indians, like those of Ohio or New England, girdled trees so as to rid the land of them, and leave it in a suitable condition for cultivation by their rude and ineffective tools, is not stated; but the probability is that little of such work was necessary.³ The field at Sauk Prairie just mentioned, lay along the border of the woodland; and as the prairie was burned off nearly every year, it is reasonable to suppose that the fire crept into the woods for a greater or less distance, killing the trees and leaving a considerable belt neither distinctively prairie nor woods. Naturally this would become overgrown with weeds and saplings, which could be much more easily eradicated than the heavy growth of trees or grass. The prairie sod was altogether too tough to be subdued by the Indians, and nowhere do we find them tilling any considerable area of genuine prairie soil.

There are one or two direct references to Indian fields within Dane County. While stationed at Fort Crawford, Jefferson Davis visited this section and left in his journal some remarks pertinent to our subject: "While on detached service in the summer of 1829, I think I encamped one night about the site of Madison. The nearest Indian village was on the opposite side of the lake. * * * The Indians subsisted largely on Indian

¹ Wisconsin State Agricultural Society *Transactions*, i. p. 125.

² "At every step they dig a round hole in which they sow nine or ten grains of maize which they have first carefully selected and soaked for some days in water."—Carr, *Indian Mounds of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 15.

³ "In the fall of 1814 the late Col. Dickson was stopped here [Lake Winnebago] by the ice and compelled to remain during the Winter. * * * He cleared the land, now cultivated by the Indians."—Journal of Mrs. James D. Doty, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.* x, p. 114.

corn and wild rice."¹ Probably he referred to the place now known as Winnequah, on the eastern shore of Lake Monona, where a few Indian corn-hills are still discernable. The nature of the land here at the time of the Indian occupancy, cannot now be estimated with the same accuracy as in the case of the Sauk district. It is not on the edge of a prairie; but from the condition of the present woods about Winnequah, and the sandy nature of the soil, it is altogether likely that there were sufficient open spots for all the corn-fields which the small villages of Indians would be likely to cultivate.

Capt. Jonathan Carver, who made a trip through the northwest in 1766, in speaking of the Winnebago Indians remarks: "The land adjacent to the lake [Winnebago] is very fertile, abounding with grapes, plums, and other fruits, which grow spontaneously. The Winnebagoes raise on it a great quantity of Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, squashes, and watermelons, with some tobacco."² Carver also gives an interesting description of the kind of corn grown by the Indians. We should infer from what little he says that it is very similar, although not identical, with the corn raised by the New England Indians in the seventeenth century: "One spike generally consists of about six hundred grains which are placed closely together in rows to the number of eight or ten, and sometimes twelve."³ He does not tell us whether or not it is dented; but since he finds it maturing as far north as Lake Winnebago, and especially as the ears are long and slender, it is safe to infer that it was the hard flint variety known as "Yankee corn." In case the four hundred acres near Sauk Prairie produced such remarkably large ears—averaging, we should judge, at least a foot in length, the aggregate yield must have been very great. Reasoning from this, it is easy to believe the various reports of discoveries of fifty thousand bushels of corn in *cache* by armies in the Ohio Valley, and to the southward. However, the element of uncertainty is by no means a negligible quantity, and the reader must draw his own conclusions as to the probable amount of farm produce raised by the Wisconsin Indian.

For the most part, the practices and methods of these Indians resembled those of the tribes farther east. The Sauk and Foxes were scattered up and down the Wisconsin and Fox rivers; wherever found, they depended for a living, in part, on the cultivated product of the soil.⁴ In raising a crop of corn, or other field products, the Indians had many difficulties with

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 75.

² *Travels in North America*, p. 37.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 521.

⁴ See Coues, *Pike's Expeditions* (N. Y., 1895), pp. 294-303; also brief mention in the *Reedsburg Free Press*, July 23, 1874.

which to contend, even more perplexing than those connected with subduing the native soil. Perhaps the depredations of blackbirds and crows were the worst; for as soon as other food began to fail them in the fall, they pounced upon the corn, usually when it was about in the milk or "roasting ear," and wrought sad havoc. The Indians were always inordinately fond of the tender, green corn, and this fact, together with the danger of loss by birds or frost from leaving it out until maturity, induced them to gather it early. They were familiar with the fact that corn may be cured while yet in the green state, and still be desirable food; this fact, as well as the method of storing, appears in the following quotation:¹ "I observed several women with bags on their heads and shoulders, appearing heavily laden, bent down and not raising their faces from the path they were upon. I never saw individuals contend more with a load that almost mastered them, than did some of these females. Following them a short distance to a place where they stopped, I found they were making a *cache* of the ripe maize of the season. A sort of cave had been hollowed out in the side of the hill, about eight feet in diameter at the bottom, and not more than two or three at the top. To this *cache* the women were bringing the corn, a distance of about three miles, and some very young girls were in the cave storing it away. * * * The ears of maize are gathered and cured whilst the corn is in the milk, and the bags when filled with it are laid in the cave upon layers of dry grass, one layer above another. When the cave is full, straw is put in and covered over with dry earth. They cure the corn in the milk, because the blackbirds are numerous enough to devour it all if it were left to ripen in the field.² From this it is seen that the agricultural methods of Wisconsin Indians were not different from those farther east and south—the women do the work; the corn is gathered before fully ripe, and put in *caches* for safe keeping.

It would be hazardous to attempt any estimate of the quantity of corn raised, even by any one tribe. The Sauk and Foxes appear to have depended more on products of the soil than did their neighbors. The four hundred acres raised near where Sauk City now stands, is good evidence of a total product of no slight proportions, for these Indians had many other villages scattered along the line of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. Speaking of these tribes as a whole, Worden remarks: "The Sacs and

¹ G. W. Featherstonhaugh, *Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor*, p. 350.

² In Chas. W. Burkett, *History of Ohio Agriculture*, (Concord, 1900), the point is made that the Indians unconsciously practiced a careful system of selection by taking the best and earliest corn each year for seed. This seems reasonable, but Professor Burkett does not give his authority for the statement.

Foxes raise corn, beans and melons, and derive a great part of their subsistence from agriculture and gardening.”¹

Indian improvidence is usually spoken of as though the red man had no regard whatever for the morrow; but Pike credits the Osage with the virtue of rigid economy in saving their corn and beans for seasons when the chase is likely to fail in supplying the larder.² The same author mentions the drying of pumpkins, for winter use, by the Indians of the plains. In the same strain Father Allouez, who visited the Western Indians in the early part of 1670, says of the Outagami: “These savages * * * are settled in an excellent country,—the soil, which is black there, yielding them Indian corn in abundance. They live by hunting during the winter returning to their cabins towards its close, and living there on Indian corn that they had hidden away the previous Autumn; they season it with fish.”³ Again, in speaking of the Oumamis, [Miami], he mentions the fact that on the first of May they still had corn which they offered him to eat; and of the Potawatomi, that their land is “very good for Indian corn, of which they plant fields, and to which they very willingly retire to avoid the famines that are too common in these quarters.” These famines were usually the result of drouth which, by drying up the forage plants, drove the big game away to other sections,⁴ leaving the poor Indians dependent on fish and the grain in stock—the latter being, unhappily, seldom or never found in quantities sufficient to tide over a famine of any consequence.⁵

A traveller in 1669 makes this record on his visit to Green Bay: “I found here only one village of different nations—Ousaki, Pouteouatami, Outagami, Orenibigoutz (i. e. Ouinipegouk)—about six hundred souls. * * * All these Nations have their fields of Indian corn, squashes, beans, and tobacco.”⁶

In 1793, Robert Dickson wrote of the Indians near Portage: “At the Falls of the Fox River there is a portage of three-quarters of a mile. The Indians here raise Indian corn, squash, potatoes, melons, and cucumbers in great abundance, and good tobacco. On the low lands by the river great quantities of wild oats [rice] grow.”⁷

¹ Worden, *United States*, ii, p. 539.

² Coues, *Pike's Expeditions*, p. 532.

³ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1896-1901), liv, p. 223.

⁴ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 139.

⁵ Many incidental references to the sorry plight of the Wisconsin Indians in times when game was scarce may be found in the *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, especially in the Grignon and Dickson papers, xi, pp. 271-315.

⁶ *Jesuit Relations*, liv, pp. 205, 207.

⁷ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 134, 135.

As a rule the Indian depended on corn and beans to support him during his long excursions, whether in peace or war. In the account of the capture of the Hall girls, which occurred about May, 1832, there is a good side-light on the Indian commissariat: "When we halted, the Indians having scalded some beans, and roasted some acorns, desired we should eat. * * * On our arrival several squaws came to our assistance * * * prepared a place for us to sit down, and presented us some parched corn, some meal, and maple sugar, mixed, and desired us to eat. * * * In the evening we were presented with a supper consisting of coffee, fried cakes, boiled corn, and fried venison, with fried leeks. * * * When our flour was exhausted we had coffee, meat, and pounded corn made into soup."¹ Later, it is mentioned that the Indians carried pork and potatoes while on the march. The pork as well as the coffee was, of course, obtained from the whites, but the potatoes, so-called, were probably wild artichokes which Lapham found in use as food among the Indians in what is now Brown County. In 1844 he found them using "a very good kind of potato * * * the mode of preserving which was entirely new to us. The potatoes, which are of an oblong shape, and not longer than a man's thumb are partially boiled, and carefully peeled while hot, without breaking the pulp, and strung like so many beads upon a twine or tough thread of bark and then hung in festoons on the ridge pole of the wigwam, over the smoke of the fire, where they became thoroughly dry. This process renders the potatoes fit for transportation and use during the severest frosts without injury. The squaws take great interest in preparing this article of food which is about the only vegetable they cultivate."² However, the Indians around Green Bay were by no means restricted to one agricultural product, although contact with the white men tended to make them more and more dependent, since they found it easier to barter furs for food than to raise grain.

From the above citations, it appears that the cultivated fields of the Indians occupied a diagonal line across the state, following the courses of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers and Green Bay; and that the Sauk, Foxes, and Winnebago were the most inclined, in the struggle for existence, to make use of their agricultural knowledge and opportunities. It may also be shown that there were some important cultivated areas along the Mississippi and Rock rivers, and some insignificant patches near Lake Michigan. The settlement of Black Hawk's followers on the lower part of the Rock, on the point between that river and the Mississippi is of interest, and these

¹ Smith, *Wisconsin*, iii, pp. 189-195.

² Lapham, *Wisconsin*, p. 116. Although Lapham was a scientist he does not venture to give the botanical name of this plant, which was evidently a puzzle to him.

were Wisconsin Indians, who had resumed their agricultural labors in a new home.

Something of the skill of these people in choosing land on which to grow corn, also an idea of the quantity grown, are furnished by Black Hawk in his *Autobiography*: "In the front a prairie extended to the Mississippi, and in our rear a continued bluff gently ascended from the prairie. * * * On the side of this bluff we had our corn-fields, extending about two miles up parallel with the larger river, where they adjoined those of the Foxes, whose village was on the same stream opposite the lower end of Rock Island and three miles distant from ours. We had eight hundred acres in cultivation, including what we had on the islands in Rock River. The land around our village which remained unbroken, was covered with blue-grass which furnished excellent pasture for our horses. * * * The land being very fertile never failed to produce good crops of corn, beans, pumpkins, and squashes."¹

Black Hawk then goes on to state that, owing to encroachments of the white settlers, his people had hard work to find sufficient land on which to plant corn, and gives a sorrowful account of the distress caused by the confiscation of their crops by the whites. Black Hawk does not give any estimate of the area cultivated by the Foxes, but Col. John Shaw, in speaking of both settlements, estimates the fields at five thousand acres.² This is probably an exaggeration, but it serves its purpose in giving some notion of the importance of agricultural industry to the Indians themselves, and surely it was not inconsiderable. Anyone wishing to estimate the amount of these products by the various tribes, will find some data in the *Emigrant's and Traveller's Guide*, where a fairly good estimate of the numbers of the several Indian tribes in 1834 appears.³

A great many more references could be given, emphasizing the reliance of the red man on his rude husbandry; but perhaps enough has already been said to make it plain that something is due him for taking the initial step in the development of the great grain regions of the upper Mississippi valley. Neither are we left wholly to deduce our conclusions from circumstantial evidence. The early military expeditions of the West and Northwest were for the most part dependent on supplies obtained from the

¹ *Autobiography of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, or Black Hawk* (St. Louis, 1882), pp. 57, 58.

² *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 220.

³ Tanner, *View of the Valley of the Mississippi or the Emigrant's and Traveller's Guide to the West* (Philadelphia, 1834).

Indians.¹ The accounts of the Lewis and Clark expedition tell of the dependence of the party on provisions furnished by the Indians, and even so far north as the Mandan village they traded for Indian corn. At Mackinac Island, a point hardly within the present corn belt, the Indians raised a sufficient quantity of that cereal to attract the attention of the British garrison as well as of various travellers. As early as 1766 Jonathan Carver saw the importance of the agricultural products of the Wisconsin Indians, and after enumerating the crops grown by the "Saukies" before mentioned, speaks thus of the Sauk village: "This place is esteemed the best market for traders to furnish themselves with provisions, of any within eight hundred miles of it."

Thus it is seen that the Indians, on their own account, furnished provisions for their own war parties; for the English forays against Americans and Spanish; for explorers like Marquette, Carver, and Lewis and Clark, and the long list of later adventurers who came to spy out the land and eventually to expel the tribesmen from their fields. The traders who ranged the woods and rivers for a century before civilization ruined their traffic, depended in a large measure on the meagre stores of Indian corn and beans; while even the troops which finally hunted the natives from their homes, filled their camp kettles either from the *caches* or the corn fields of the fugitives. Nor was this all. The earliest settlers seized upon the little cultivated plots as the most desirable ground for their own first plantings, and utilized the native-grown seed, since it was known to be adapted to the soil and climate. It is interesting to note that the two crops which the Indians prized most highly, corn and tobacco, are at present two of the foremost products of Wisconsin.

BENJAMIN HORACE HIBBARD, PH. D.

(Communicated by Wisconsin Historical Society.)

¹ In a letter to Brehm, Governor Sinclair speaks of sending a sloop through the lake region in the fall of 1779 to collect all the grain and other provisions available, to be used in the campaign against St. Louis the following spring. In others of the Haldimand papers are direct statements to the effect that the provisions for the St. Louis expedition were to be gathered principally from the Indians along Wisconsin River, where corn was said to be abundant, and as a matter of fact this plan appears to have been carried out.—*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 141-184.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF CARVER'S "TRAVELS"

IN his paper on "The Travels of Jonathan Carver," read before the American Historical Association in Chicago, December 29, 1904, Prof. E. G. Bourne of Yale University, presented the results of an investigation as to the originality and authenticity of the second part of this famous book, which is devoted to giving a systematic account of the manners and customs of the Indians in the Northwest, and of the animals and products of the soil.

The Professor brought to light the fact that as early as 1792 Oliver Wolcott, then Comptroller of the Treasury in Philadelphia, wrote the geographer Jedidiah Morse, that he had been informed on good authority that the book was written under very inauspicious circumstances; adding that Carver was an ignorant man, incapable of writing such a work, and that there was reason to believe it to be a compilation from other authors.¹

Next, he cited contemporaneous but entirely independent criticisms by Schoolcraft in 1823,² and by Keating in 1824,³ both of whom assert that the author of the *Travels* drew considerably from Lahontan. In addition, Schoolcraft declared that material was also derived from Charlevoix's *Travels*. More detailed and more positive still, were the assertions of Greenhow, the historian of Oregon, that the second part of Carver's *Travels* was a compilation from Charlevoix, Hennepin, and Lahontan.⁴ Greenhow was familiar with Keating's views, but apparently not with Schoolcraft's, whose *Memoirs* were published in 1851, or with Wolcott's, whose letter first saw light in 1846. These early criticisms appear to have escaped the notice of later writers who have written upon Carver's *Travels*, for neither Moses Coit Tyler, in his *History of American Literature*, nor the authors of the articles on Carver in the various cyclopædias, breathe any suspicion as to the authenticity of the work.

In the second part of his paper, Professor Bourne gave the results of his attempt to test the correctness of the assertions of Wolcott, Schoolcraft, Keating, and Greenhow. He cited a few passages showing how the

¹ Gibbs, *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and Adams* (New York, 1846), i, p. 76.

² Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs* (Philadelphia, 1851), p. 196.

³ Keating, *History of Long's Expedition* (Philadelphia, 1824), i, pp. 325, 326.

⁴ Greenhow, *History of Oregon* (Boston, 1845), pp. 142, 144.

author of the *Travels*, whoever he might be, drew from books information which a genuine traveller would not think of going to books for. For example, the description of the personal appearance of the Indians was taken from Lahontan; of their keenness in detecting a trail, from Charlevoix; of their game of lacrosse partly from Charlevoix and partly from Adair's *History of the American Indians*. The description of the Indian sled (or toboggan), with which the real Carver must have been perfectly familiar, is taken word for word from Charlevoix. Again, the real Carver must have many times seen Indians scalp prisoners, for he was a veteran of the French and Indian War, and one of the survivors of the Fort William Henry massacre; but notwithstanding such presumable personal observation, the author of Carver's *Travels* borrows word for word Adair's account of the process of scalping. The accounts of the animals are largely from Charlevoix. "The short vocabulary of the Chippeway Language" is almost entirely taken from Lahontan's "Dictionary of the Algonkin Language." Some of the changes are pure blunders of hasty transcription, which one familiar with the language, as Carver pretended to be, could not have made; as, for example, where Carver gives *Sheshikwee* for "dart," when Lahontan gives it as the name of a particular kind of dance; or again, where Carver gives the word for "heart" which Lahontan gave for "hart."

Professor Bourne's conclusion was, that the second and larger part of Carver's *Travels* is not an original work, but a literary compilation, like Sir John Mandeville's *Travels* or Benzoni's *History of the New World*; and that the first part was probably put together by the same writer, from Carver's notes or oral recollections. As to the extent or reality of Carver's journey up the St. Peter's (or Minnesota) River, Professor Bourne felt disposed to accept the view of Keating, who apparently had studied the question very thoroughly on the ground, that Carver had entered the river but did not ascend it as far as he pretended.

OLD FORT GEORGE, ON THE BATTERY, NEW YORK CITY

ON July 30, 1904, the contractors who were excavating for the Rapid Transit tunnel in Battery Park, New York City, dug up at a point twenty feet west of the center line of State street and eighty-seven feet north of the center line of Bridge street, a small monumental stone of great historical significance. This stone, which was two feet nine inches below the surface of the ground, marked the site of the southwest bastion of Old Fort George.

The great historical value of this monument was immediately appreciated by the American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society and the New York Historical Society, for it supplied the *datum* for the exact location of the boundaries of the old fort, which, under various names, had occupied the site of the birthplace of the Metropolis.

The Secretary of the American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society on August 1, wrote to Mayor McClellan, and President Orr of the Rapid Transit Commission, requesting that the bearings of the exact site of the monument be carefully taken, and that the stone be replaced above ground on the same spot as soon as Battery Park was restored to its normal condition. On August 12th, the Scenic Society's letter was formally approved by the Rapid Transit Board, and the acting chief engineer was authorized to construct a proper pedestal for the monument and restore it as soon as practicable.

The New York Historical Society, through whose instrumentality the stone was originally erected in 1818, also manifested the liveliest interest in the matter, and when the stone is replaced will probably hold formal ceremonies.

The circumstances of the original erection of the monument are extremely interesting:

Under date of June 10, 1817, Mr. John Pintard, Secretary of the New York Chamber of Commerce, wrote to the New York Historical Society as follows:

NEW YORK, 10th June, 1817.

The subscriber, as Secretary of the Corporation of the New York Chamber of Commerce (instituted 5th April, 1768), in reviewing the minutes of that respectable Association, found the following astronomical observations for determining the Latitude of the City of New York made in October, 1769, by Mr. David Rittenhouse of Philadelphia, and Captain John Montresor of the British Corps of Engineers, at that period stationed in this City.

These observations, it is presumed, have never been published, and may be considered of sufficient importance to be preserved in the archives of the New York Historical Society.

JOHN PINTARD.

The accompanying extracts from the minutes of the Chamber of Commerce were as follows:

NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,

7th November, 1769.

At the desire of several members of the Chamber, they had requested the President to apply to Messrs. David Rittenhouse and John Montresor to take the Latitude of the Flag Bastion on Fort George in the City of New York.

NEW YORK, October 12th, 1769.

At your request, in behalf of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York, I have made the following observations with the Pennsylvania sector of six feet radius on the Southwest Bastion in this city.

Zenith distance on the Meridian of Capella

° ' "

Octr. 9th, morn.....	5	2	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
10th, do	5	1	59

of Castor
° ' "

10th, morn.....	8	19	51
12th, do	8	19	51

Having carefully computed the Declinations of the above stars from their latitudes as settled by Dr. Bradley, reduced to the present time and corrected by the observation of light and variable motion of the earth's axis, I find, the Latitude of the place from the observations of Capella to be

$40^{\circ} 42' 9''$ and from those of Castor $40^{\circ} 42' 7''$, a mean whereof is the Latitude of the Fort, $40^{\circ} 42' 8''$.

I am sir, your very humb. servt.

DAVID RITTENHOUSE.

to John Cruger
President
of the Chamber of Commerce

Observations made at the Flag Bastion in Fort George in the City of New York, principally with the sector belonging to the Province of Pennsylvania, of six feet radius, by Messrs. David Rittenhouse and John Montresor, Engineers, October, 1769.

Zenith Distance of Capella

October 9th..	3h 50' morn.....	5° 2' 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ ''
10th..	3 46 do	5 1 59

Zenith Distance of Castor

October 10th..	6h 6'.....	8 19 51
12th..	5 58	8 19 51

Declination of Capella.....	45	44	14
Zenith distance of Capella Refraction	5	2	5

Latitude.....	40	42	9
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Declination of Castor.....	32	22	7
Zenith distance of Castor.....	8	19	51
Refraction	0	0	9

Latitude.....	40	42	7
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The mean of the above observations ascertain the Latitude of Fort George in $40^{\circ} 42' 8''$.

I am, with respect

Sir, Your most Humb. Servt.

JOHN MONTRESOR.

John Cruger Esq.
President
of the Chamber of Commerce
of New York.

(End of extract of minutes.)

The Chamber of Commerce appropriated 20 pounds to pay Mr. Rittenhouse for his services in the above matter.

In 1790,¹ Fort George was razed to the ground, part of the material was used for filling in and enlarging Battery Park, the Government Building was erected on part of the old fort site, and all trace of the southwest bastion where the observations of Montresor and Rittenhouse were made was lost.

The New York Historical Society, on June 10, 1817, therefore voted to apply to the Corporation of the City to ascertain the site of the bastion on which Messrs. Rittenhouse and Montresor made their observations in 1769 and to erect a monument with suitable inscriptions to mark the same. Messrs. John Pintard, Dr. John Griscom and Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill were appointed a committee to prepare the memorial to the Common Council and present it to that body. The memorial, dated June 16, 1817, recited the facts here given and said: "It is conceived by the Historical Society that it is worthy the care of a cultivated and enlightened people to ascertain and perpetuate by a monumental stone the aforesaid site." It also called attention to the fact that "Your magnificent City Hall has been erected considerably to the northward of the place where Fort George formerly stood," and requested that its latitude also be accurately determined and marked by a monument with appropriate inscriptions.

On July 8, 1817, the New York Historical Society Committee reported to the Society that the Committee of Arts and Sciences of the Common Council, to whom their Memorial had been referred, had reported favorably thereupon.

The report of the Common Council Committee, after reciting the facts of the survey in 1769, proceeds as follows:

"The communication from the Historical Society having stated this fact as taken from the minutes of the Chamber of Commerce, request that the Corporation would endeavor to find the site of the Flag Bastion of Fort George and erect on the spot a stone with an inscription stating the latitude, when and by whom taken, and that a suitable person or persons be employed to take the latitude of the City Hall and erect a stone in front or near it with the latitude marked thereon which shall serve as a monument or milliarium from which all distances shall be reckoned and which will be con-

¹There have been many obscure statements concerning the date of the obliteration of Fort George. The act authorizing its removal was passed March 16, 1700. and Mrs. Lamb and others are in error in giving an earlier date.

sidered the proper latitude of the place, being taken from the largest and most elegant and permanent building in the City.

“ Your Committee think that the subject of this communication is of great importance and that so large and growing a city as New York, should not longer remain without its latitude being accurately ascertained and that a place of observation should be known and designated; wherefore they recommend,

“ 1, That the Street Commissioner be directed to ascertain as nearly as possible the site of the Southwest Bastion of Fort George and to erect thereon a monumental stone on which shall be marked the latitude as taken in 1769 and by whom;

“ 2, That a suitable person or persons be employed under the direction of your committee to find the Latitude of the City Hall and to erect a monumental stone near it with suitable inscriptions from which mileage or distances from the city shall hereafter be computed.

“ One other subject connected with the one before your committee, though not in the petition under consideration, they beg to submit to the Board. The City Surveyors frequently differ in their computations of distances and direction in consequence sometimes of the different variations of the magnetic needles used by them. If a place was fixed in some elevated situation, (as the cupola of the City Hall, for instance) from which some permanent object on Long Island or the Jersey Shore could be observed, and the true direction ascertained, it might serve the purpose of regulating surveys and in some measure of correcting errors, as thereby the compasses of all surveyors might at any time be adjusted. Wherefore your committee recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

“ Resolved, That the Street Commissioner be directed to ascertain if any proper object can be seen from the Cupola of the City Hall which may be fixed upon as a mark to ascertain the direction of the compass from the said cupola; and that a stone slab be fixed somewhere on the top of the Hall with marks thereon by which the true direction of the magnetic needle of surveyors’ compasses may at all times be regulated and adjusted.

“ Respectfully submitted.

SAMUEL ACKERLY,
J. WARREN BRACKET,
THOMAS R. SMITH,
JOHN REMMEY,
ARTHUR BURTIS.”

The inscription originally drafted by the New York Historical Society for the Fort George monument was as follows:

*To perpetuate
 The site of the S. W. Bastion of
 Fort George
 The Latitude of Which, 40° 42' 8"
 was taken at the order of the N. Y. Chamber of Commerce¹
 by Capt. John Montresor and David Rittenhouse Esq.
 In October, 1769
 The Corporation of the City of New York
 (at the request of the N. York Historical Society)
 have erected
 This Monument
 A D 1817*

The monument was not erected until 1818, and the inscription actually carved on it reads as follows:

*To perpetuate
 The Site of the S. W. Bastion of
 Fort George
 In 40° 42' 8" N. Latitude
 As observed by
 CAPT. JOHN MONTRESOR, AND DAVID RITTENHOUSE
 in October 1769.
 The Corporation of the City of New York,
 have erected
 This monument
 A. D. MDCCCXVIII.*

NEW YORK CITY

EDWARD HAGAMAN HALL

¹ In the original manuscript draft, the words "at the order" are crossed out and "by desire" written above them. The words "N. York" in the same line are also crossed out.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

A WAR LETTER OF WALT WHITMAN

(His opinion of President Lincoln)

[The original letter dated Washington, March 19, 1863, is owned in New York and is of exceptional interest, as written to two intimate friends and revealing Whitman at his very best. He says it is the longest he has ever written, and that he is "writing at night, while taking care of the child of a friend who had gone to see Matilda Heron in *Medea*."]

* * * After describing his life in Washington, among the soldiers, he refers thus to President Lincoln:

"Congress does not seize hard upon me . . . much gab, great fear of public opinion; plenty of low business talent, but no masterful man in Congress (probably best so)—I **THINK WELL OF THE PRESIDENT**. He has a face like a Hoosier Michael Angelo, so awful ugly it becomes beautiful, with its strange mouth, its deep cut criss-cross lines, and its doughnut complexion. My notion is, too, that underneath his outside smutched manner, and stories from third-class country bar rooms (it is his humor), Mr. Lincoln keeps a fountain of first class practical telling wisdom. I do not dwell on the supposed failures of his government; he has shown I sometimes think an almost supernatural tact in keeping the ship afloat at all, with head steady, not only not going down and now certain not to, but with proud and resolute spirit, and flag flying in sight of the world, menacing and high as ever. I say never yet Captain, never ruler, had such a perplexing dangerous task as his the past two years. I more and more rely upon his idiomatic western genius, careless of court dress or of court decorums . . ."

(His hospital experiences are very interesting.)

". . . These Hospitals, so different from all others—these thousands, and ten and twenties of thousands of American young men, badly wounded . . . operated on, pallid with diarrhoea, languishing, dying with fever, pneumonia, etc., open a new world somehow to me, giving closer insights . . . showing our humanity . . . tried by terrible fearful tests, probed

deepest, the living souls, the body's tragedies, bursting the petty bonds of art. To these, what are your dreams and poems, even the oldest and the tearfullest? Not old Greek mighty ones, where man contends with fate (and always yields)—not Virgil showing Dante on and on among the agonized and damned, approach what here I see and take a part in. For here I see, not at intervals but quite always, how certain man, our American man—how he holds himself cool and unquestioned master above all pains and bloody mutilations . . . This, then, what frightened us all so long! Why it is put to flight with ignominy—a mere stuffed scarecrow of the fields. O death where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory? . . .”

LETTER OF LINCOLN, DECLINING AN OFFER OF OFFICE

* * * It is easy to see the great personal interest of such a letter as this. It marks a period in Lincoln's life, the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated. In Morse's *Life of Lincoln*, it is said that upon the offer of the position, “controlled by the sensible advice of his wife, he fortunately declined.”

Springfield, *Illinois, Sept. 27, 1849.*

“ HON. J. M. CLAYTON

Secretary of State.

DEAR SIR

Your letter of the 17th inst. saying you had received no answer to yours informing me of my appointment as Secretary of Oregon is received and surprises me very much—I received that letter accompanied by the commissions in due course of mail, and answered it two days after, declining the office and warmly recommending Simeon Francis for it. I have also written you several letters since, alluding to the same matter all of which ought to have reached you before the date of your last letter.

Your Obt. Servt.

“ A. LINCOLN.”

SOCIETIES

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The 100th anniversary of the founding of the Society was celebrated on Tuesday evening, Nov. 22, 1904, by a banquet. The president announced that Mr. Henry Dexter, a fellow member had presented to the Society the sum of \$150,000, and in addition the granite for the entire front of the central portion of the new building, Central Park West, 76th-77th Sts. A medal in bronze and silver has been struck to commemorate the founding of the institution.

At an annual meeting (Jan. 3d, 1905), of the Society, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Samuel V. Hoffman; first vice-president, Frederic W. Jackson; second vice-president, Francis R. Schell; foreign corresponding secretary, Archer M. Huntington; domestic corresponding secretary, George R. Schieffelin; recording secretary, Acosta Nichols; treasurer, Charles A. Sherman; librarian, Robert H. Kelby.

At a stated meeting held February 7th, Mr. A. Emerson Palmer, Secretary of Board of Education, read a very interesting and instructive address on "A Century of Public Schools in the City of New York," with stereopticon illustrations.

The Society resolved to take measures to celebrate in 1909 the ter-centenary of the discovery of this part

of North America by Henry Hudson, the 200th anniversary of that event having been celebrated by the Society on September 4th, 1809.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

At the annual meeting Jan. 10, Ex-Chief Justice Stiness paid a glowing tribute to the character and ability of the late Judge Horatio Rogers, formerly President of the Society. Prof. Albert Harkness of Brown University, the present president delivered a valuable address on "Some Phases in the Development of History." The librarian, Mr. Brigham, in the course of his report on the accessions to the library during 1904, made this remark, which may be commended to the attention of those who have accumulations of such material which seem to them only fit to be burnt, as occupying space, and not even worth offering for the acceptance of any library of reference: "In many cases these gifts have been made with the apology that they were too trivial, and hardly worth the acceptance. But it is the ephemeral pamphlet and the unimportant report that is likely to be asked for by the next generation, just as we to-day are searching, too often in vain, for the transitory publication of a half century ago."

NOTES AND QUERIES

CAMPBELL—Can any reader give particulars of Lieut.-Col. Donald Campbell of the Revolutionary Army? All I find about him is that he held a staff appointment until 1782.

W. A.

FLAGS—Are any of the flags carried by our Revolutionary forces still preserved (except the one of the Washington Light Infantry of South Carolina).

Cleveland, O.

R. E. B.

BAND INSTRUMENTS DURING THE REVOLUTION—There were some of Washington's regiments which had

bands of music—Col. Proctor's Pennsylvania artillery regiment for one, and the Third New York infantry another. I remember seeing a statement, somewhere, years ago, that the band instruments of the latter were deposited in some public building at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., after the Revolution. Where are they now—and are those of Proctor's regiment also preserved, and where?

Chicago.

H. AUSTIN.

MATTHIAS OGDEN—Is there any portrait of Matthias Ogden, brother of Aaron, extant?

NEW JERSEY.

MINOR TOPICS

THE DEATH OF WALTER N. BUTLER

Mrs. Mary (Mower) Baldwin, who died in Oneida County, N. Y., Dec. 10, 1904, was a daughter of Peter Mower, a Revolutionary soldier. His brother George, was one of the party of patriots who with several Indians, pursued the notorious Tory and killed him at the ford of West Canada Creek, Oct. 30, 1781.

History has always credited the

fatal shot to an unnamed Oneida Indian, but Mrs. Baldwin in whose family it was a tradition, always declared that it was fired by her uncle George, the only white man who had kept up so far with the Indians. Butler after crossing the ford in safety, dismounted from his horse; Mower, recognizing him by his uniform—the notorious "Butler's Rangers"—fired and killed him.—*American Monthly Magazine*, February.

GENEALOGICAL

All communications for this department (including genealogical publications for review) should be sent to William Prescott Greenlaw, address: Sudbury, Mass., from April to November, inclusive; Commonwealth Hotel, Bowdoin St., Boston, Mass., from December to March, inclusive.

[A limited number of queries will be inserted for subscribers free; to all others a charge of one cent per word (payable in stamps) will be made.]

8. a. PALFREY—Wanted, the maiden name of the wife of Peter Palfrey who came to Salem, Mass., about 1626, was made freeman 1630 and settled in Reading.

b. FRARY—Wanted, the maiden name of the wife of John Frary who settled in Dedham, Mass., about 1638.

c. LILLIE—Wanted, the parentage of David Lillie who is said to have been born in Lebanon, Ct., Oct. 27, 1742, and married Hulda Blodgett in 1756 at Stafford, Ct.

d. ADAMS—Wanted, the maiden name of the first wife of Robert Adams who settled in Newbury, Mass., and died there Oct. 12, 1682.

e. PEASE—Wanted, the maiden name of the wife of Robert Pease who came to Salem, Mass., in 1634 and died there in 1644.

f. SEYMOUR—Wanted, the maiden name of the wife of Richard Seymour who died in Norwalk, Ct., Nov. 25, 1655.

g. WOODRUFF—Wanted, the maiden name of the wife of Matthew Woodruff who died at Farmington, Ct., in 1682.

h. CARTER—Wanted, the maiden name of the first wife of Capt. John Carter of Woburn, who died there Sept. 14, 1692.

i. PRESCOTT—Wanted, proofs of the ancestry of John Prescott of Lancaster, Mass., who died there in 1681.

M. I.

9. a. MULLINS—Wanted, a complete list of the children of William and Alice Mullins who came to Plymouth on the Mayflower, 1620.

b. MULLINS—Wanted, a complete list of the children of William Mullins, Jr., whose daughter, Sarah, m. Gannett, Savil and Faxon.

c. MULLINS—Who was the William Mullins who married May 7, 1656, Ann, widow of Thomas Bell, in Boston?

d. MULLINS—Did Ruth, daughter of William and Alice Mullins, who was baptized at Dorking, England, 1619, marry and leave descendants?

e. ALDEN—Did Thomas Delano marry Rebecca Alden, daughter of John and Priscilla? If not, is there any positive evidence as to the given name of the daughter he did marry?

f. ALDEN—Wanted, a complete list of the children of John Alden, and the order of their births.

10 a. TURNER—Whom did the daughter of John Turner, who came in the Mayflower, marry and did she leave any children? Bradford says she was living in Salem about 1650.

B. 2.

FARRAR FAMILY MEMORANDA.

Thomas Farrar, of Lynn, 1639, had wife, Elizabeth; children, Thomas, Sarah, Hannah, Susanna, Peleg, Mehitable and Elizabeth. His wife died 8 Jan., 1681, and he d. 23 Feb., 1694. (*Savage's Gen. Dict.*)

Thomas Farrar of Lynn, aged above 50 in 1699. (N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, vol. 6, p. 253.)

1645. "2. (11) A tre Atturney generall for debts rents landes from Tho: ffarrar of Boston husbandman (son of Thomas ffarrar of or neere Burnley in Lancashire husbandman) unto Henry Farrar his brother Mariner, wth power to sett lett Lease or make sale of any such house or lands to him due by inheritance gift or otherwise. witnes Joseph Wilson." (Aspinwall's Notarial Records, p. 18.)

Extracts from the Registers of the Parish Church of Burnley in the County of Lancaster, England.

MARRIAGES.

Edward ffarrar and Jenett Willsone 9 August 1567.

Henrie ffarrar and Jenet Jacksonn 20 May 1610.

Henry Shore and Agnes ffarrar 12 febuarie 1614-15.

Henrie ffarrar and Alice Thomas 13 October 1623.

William Roberte and Anne ffarrer 27 October 1636.

Isaack ffarrar and Dinah Woodhead 18 July 1643.

BAPTISMS.

John son of John ffarrer 30 January 1581-2.

Roberte son of John ffarrer 24 April 1584.

Anne dau. John ffarrer 17 September 1586.

Marie dau. John ffarrer 4 August 1588.

Anne dau. of Anthonie ffarrer 20 May 1592.

Henry base son of Anthonie ffarrer 19 May 1594.

Susan dau. of Henry ffarrer 28 Marche 1611.

Robert son of Henry ffarrar of Worsthorne 27 September 1618.

Marie dau. of Henrie ffarrar 10 October 1624.

Janet dau. of Henrie ffarrar 11 November 1627.

Daurathie dau. of Henrie ffarrar 11 December 1631.

Margret dau. of Henrie ffarrar 20 April 1634.

Elizabeth dau. of Thomas ffarrar 14 April 1612.

Thomas son of Thomas ffarrar 29 Januarie 1614-15.

Anne dau. of Thomas ffarrar 29 Marche 1618.

Henry son of Thomas ffarrar 7 October 1621.

BURIALS.

A child of Anthony ffarrer 30 April 1591.

Anthonie ffarrer 10 June 1597.

Uxor Edward ffarrer 10 July 1597.

Edward ffarrer 21 Augste 1597.

Uxor John ffarrer 9 October 1596.

John ffarrer 4 October 1597.

A child of Adam ffarrer 5 September 1597.

Uxor Henrie ffarrar of Worsthorne 3 September 1627.

Henrie ffarrar of Worsthorne 24 October 1633.

Daurathie dau. of Henrie ffarrar 17 Marche 1632-3.

A child of Henry ffarrer 1 februarie 1635-6.

A childe of Thomas ffarrer 9 Januarie 1603-4.

A child of Thomas ffarrer of Pendle 23 December 1604.

A child of Thomas ffarrer 7 Aprill 1606.

A child of Thomas ffarrer 9 November 1608.

A child of Thomas ffarrer 20 December 1609.

A child of Thomas ffarrer 14 Marche 1610-11.

Uxor of Thomas ffarrer 19 Marche 1610-11.

John son of Thomas ffarrar 6 Marche 1630-31.

Anne dau. of Thomas ffarrar of Saxifield 23 March 1649-50.

Athellred uxor Thomas ffarrar of Saxifield 30 March 1650.

DEXTER GENEALOGY 1642-1904
BEING A HISTORY OF THE DESCENDANTS OF RICHARD DEXTER OF MADDEN, MASSACHUSETTS, FROM THE NOTES OF JOHN HAVEN DEXTER AND ORIGINAL RESEARCHES. By ORRANDO PERRY DEXTER, M. A., Oxon. Arranged by HENRY L. MILLS. Press of J. J. LITTLE & Co., Astor Place, New York, 1904. 12mo. pp. 279. Ill.

Richard Dexter came from Ireland, and belonged to a family which from the begin-

ning of the twelfth century has been prominent in Irish history. The genealogy, therefore, is prefaced by a chapter on "Early Irish Records Relating to the Dexter Family." Mr. Mills has well performed the labor of arranging the materials which came into his hands, the authorities for the statements in them being indicated in a table of references may by Orrando Perry Dexter. The good index, the convenient size of the book, its letterpress and binding, are all mentionable points. The illustrations are two in number, one being a coat of arms in color. ***

THE CHURCHILL FAMILY IN AMERICA. COMPILERS: GARDNER ASAPH CHURCHILL, NATHANIEL WILEY CHURCHILL. Editor and Associate Compiler: REV. GEORGE M. BODGE. Published by the family of GARDNER A. CHURCHILL. Boston, 1904. Large 8vo. pp. xv + 707. Ill.

The Plymouth branch, the Connecticut branch, and the Manhattan branch of the Churchill family constitute the three divisions of this work, followed by an appendix of names unconnected with the above lines, and preceded by Mr. Bodge's preface which concludes with "The Churchill Family in England." Mr. Bodge explains that, owing to the death of the compilers, the task of preparing their collections for the press was left to him, a labor which, as would be expected, he has ably performed. The plan on which the genealogy is arranged is that of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, in its organ, the "Register," by means of which the immense mass of notes and correspondence entrusted to Mr. Bodge have assumed the lucid order which alone renders a genealogy serviceable. There is a most carefully prepared index of nearly ninety pages. The illustrations are fine, chiefly portraits. The book is printed on good paper and bound in black cloth.

GENEALOGICAL SKETCHES OF
THE WOODBURY FAMILY, ITS INTER-
MARRIAGES AND CONNECTIONS. By
CHARLES LEVI WOODBURY. Edited
by his sister, E. C. D. O. WOOD-
BURY, Manchester, N. H.: Printed
by the JOHN B. CLARKE Co., 1904.
Square 4to. pp. 251. Ill.

The sketches are introduced by a memoir of Judge Woodbury, the compiler. The genealogical value of the work is apparent from the fact that, beside the Woodbury pedigree, it includes those of such families as the Quincys, the Palgraves, the Wendells, the Clapps, the De Kays, the Willets, the Perkinses, and others. Though left unfinished and inaccessible at Judge Woodbury's death, the sketches are nevertheless presented here in a nearly completed form, though it has been found impossible to fill omissions occasioned by the loss of some of the original papers. The mental energy, the skill and the humor characteristic of the compiler will be recognized in these pages, which, though not intended for the public, will be attractive to many outside of the readers for whom they were designed. Paper, print and binding are good. There is no index. ***

REPLIES.

3. a. MAVERICK—There is no absolute proof that Moses Maverick was son of Rev. John and brother of Samuel, but the editor of this department (a descendant of Moses) is satisfied that Rev. John Maverick was father of Moses, Samuel, Antipas

and Silas, notwithstanding what Palfrey and Savage wrote to the contrary.

A thorough examination of the whole matter has brought to light no evidence which contradicts the statement of John Josselyn, who was a guest of Samuel Maverick several days in July, 1638, that Mr. Maverick, the minister, was father of Samuel, the commissioner (Josselyn's Two Voyages, 1865 edition, pages 13, 20 and 190); nor of the statement of Col. Cartwright in 1665 that Mr. Samuel Maverick had mother, wife, children and brothers living in Massachusetts at that date. (N. E. H. and G. Register, vol. 48, p. 207).

There is no record of the death of the widow of Rev. John Maverick, and I have no doubt that she was the mother of Samuel Maverick and lived with him during her widowhood. A point worth noticing in this connection is that Samuel Maverick in writing to a man who lived near where Rev. John Maverick had lived after his marriage in England, says that his mother "presents her humble service."

The direct evidence of Josselyn and Cartwright both of whom had ample opportunity by association with Samuel Maverick to learn about the family, is not disqualified by the unsupported opinion of these two eminent historical scholars.—EDITOR.

BOOK NOTICES

A HISTORY SYLLABUS FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS. Published by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, Mass., 1904. \$1.20 net.

This Syllabus consists of four outlines in History. (1) Ancient History (the major portion Greek and Roman), (2) Mediæval and Modern European History, (3) English History, and (4) American History and Government. General suggestion to teachers in regard to the method and use of the outlines and useful bibliographies furnish helpful and necessary data for the school work of preparation and recitation.

The primary object of the syllabus is to provide definite and practical material in training pupils to meet the college entrance requirements. Those schools, also, which do not prepare their pupils to pass college examinations will find the book useful.

The syllabus is wisely not intended for boys and girls of thirteen years of age. Pure narration is best for them at this age, as the living voice serves to arouse interest and to furnish a stimulus for the sterner work of wide and varied reading.

Grave, but not unsurmountable difficulties, will arise in the actual working out of this syllabus from the inadequate preparation of the teacher and from the failure to provide the student always with the books for reading.

Yet these difficulties ought to be overcome, since the slavish method of simply hearing the recitation from the text-book must give way to the more comprehensive method of reading many writers.

As these outlines have been prepared by able university professors and successful secondary school teachers, they are the product of careful planning and actual experience.

F. C. H.

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A Patent for Plymouth in New England. To which is annexed, extracts from the Records of that Colony, etc., etc. Boston; New England: Printed by John Draper, 1751. 22 pages.

An Hour with the Pilgrim Fathers and their Precursors. By Benj. Scott. Second edition. London. 1869.

The Pilgrim Fathers neither Puritans nor Persecutors. By Benj. Scott. London. 1866.

Mayflower Essays on the Story of the Pilgrim Fathers. Blaxland. London. 1896.

A Declaration of the Warrantable Grounds and Proceedings of the First Association of the Government of New Plymouth In their Laying the First Foundation of this Government, and in their Making Laws, and Disposing of the Lands within the same. Together With the General Fundamentals of their Laws, Enacted, Ordained, and Constituted, by the Authority of the Associates of the Colony of New Plymouth. Boston. Printed and sold at Greenleaf's Printing-Office, in Hanover-Street. M.DCC. LXXIII.

The Pilgrim Fathers. A lecture by R. W. Dale, M. A. London. 1854.

Waddington's Life of John Penry.

The Pilgrim Fathers in Holland. By William C. Winslow, LL.D. Boston. 1891.

The History of The Primitive Yankees or The Pilgrim Fathers in England and Holland. By William Macon Coleman. Washington. 1881.

The Illustrated Pilgrim Memorial. Boston. 1888.

Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections. Second Series, vols. 9 and 10. Fourth Series, vol. 1. Sixth Series, vol. 10. Seventh Series, vols. 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, First Series, vols. Second Series, vols.

Morton's New England's Memorial. Boston. 1721, and Newport. 1772.

Chapman's Bulkeley Genealogy. 1875.

Raymond's Raymond Genealogy. 1886.

Burnham's Burnham Genealogy, 1869 or later edition containing the Ipswich families.

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Among the historical books of 1901, I know none more interesting or valuable than Mr. CODMAN's, and it is greatly to be regretted that he did not live to witness its deserved success.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL (author of *The Crisis*) says: "This book richly deserves the prominent notice given it (by a leading literary journal). It revives a most important and glorious episode in the history of this country, and every American will be the better for reading of the heroic struggles of Arnold's men across the wilderness. It is a book which seems essential to every library."

But the author failed to fully recognize his opportunity for illustrating the story, giving portraits of only four of the twenty or more officers of the expedition.

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Sample pages will be sent free on request. Address the MAGAZINE of HISTORY, 281 Fourth Ave., N. Y.

ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR 1905

I expect to publish within the coming twelve months several interesting items of Americana, viz.:

I.—THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND COMPANY, GOVERNOR'S FOOT-GUARD of the State of Connecticut; by Jason Thomson, Esq., of the New Haven Bar (a member of the Company). This was originally issued as a pamphlet, but has long been out of print. The Company is the third oldest military organization in the United States, beginning its history with service in the Revolution when Benedict Arnold, its first captain, took the Colony powder by force from the hesitant Selectmen of New Haven, and marched to Cambridge, accompanied by Israel Putnam, to join the patriot forces there. It has since served in the War of 1812, the War of the Rebellion, and the Spanish-Cuban War. The history of such an organization is obviously well worth preserving and enlarging by illustrations, as I have done. It will contain:

1. A rare plate of Benedict Arnold, in uniform, as he appeared before Quebec.
2. A colored plate, showing the present uniform of the Company.
3. A most interesting reproduction of a document of unique interest—the original manuscript petition to the Assembly of Connecticut, praying for the incorporation of the Company. This is signed by all the original members of the Company, including Arnold and his brother-in-law, Pierpont Edwards, who afterwards, by the irony of Fate, became the executor of his estate, at the discovery of his treason.

The original is owned by the New Haven Colony Historical Society, and will be reproduced, not by engraving, but by an actual photograph—folding to fit the size of the page. The edition will be limited to 250 copies, of which 248 will be for sale.

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II.—THE POEMS OF EDWARD COATE PINKNEY. With a biographical sketch of the poet, by Eugene L. Didier, author of a "Life of Edgar A. Poe," "Life of Madame Bonaparte," etc. The original edition of these poems is now one of the rarest items of Americana. It was published in 1825, and won the admiration of the chief American critics, Poe among them,

ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR 1905

who pronounced Pinkney to be "the first of American lyrists," and his poem, "*A Health*," (of which I give two verses herewith) "especially beautiful—full of spirit and brilliancy."

A HEALTH

I fill this cup to one made up of loveliness alone,
A woman, of her gentle sex the seeming paragon;
To whom the better elements and kindly stars have given
A form so fair that, like the air, 'tis less of earth than heaven.

Her every tone is music's own, like those of morning birds,
And something more than melody dwells ever in her words;
The coinage of her heart are they, and from her lips each flows
As one may see the burthened bee forth issue from the rose.

Only Pinkney's untimely death—before he was twenty-five—prevented his becoming one of the foremost poets of our country. The *North American Review*, then the highest literary authority in the country, said: "If the name of Thomas Carew or Sir John Harrington had been attached to these poems, we should, in all probability, like others, have been completely taken in." Another critic declared: "Some of his poems are not surpassed by any similar productions in the English language." I risk nothing in saying that Pinkney's readers of 1905 will re-echo these praises—and I trust all who have heretofore sustained me in my historical publications will give as hearty support to this, my first effort in the field of American poetry. The edition will consist of 250 copies, of which 200 will be in octavo (6 x 9) form, gilt top, uncut edges, at \$3.00.

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III.—ADVENTURES IN THE WILDS OF AMERICA AND THE BRITISH-AMERICAN PROVINCES. By Charles Lanman, author of *A Dictionary of Congress*, *The Private Life of Daniel Webster*, etc., etc. With an Appendix by Lieut. Campbell Hardy, Royal Artillery.

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Originally published in 1857, this most valuable and interesting work has long been out of print and scarce, and hence not known to the present day as its merits deserve.

While other books on similar subjects have been issued since, I think

ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR 1905

none of them—or all combined—equal this, as a record not alone of sport, but of travel, description of scenery, literature and legend (for the author has recorded many most beautiful Indian legends). The range of his journeys was from Florida to Labrador, and from the Atlantic to the present St. Paul and Minneapolis. His style needs no encomium from me. I prefer to quote from letters to him from WASHINGTON IRVING and EDWARD EVERETT:

My Dear Sir:

I am glad to learn that you intend to publish your narrative and descriptive writings, in a collected form. I have read parts of them as they were published separately, and the great pleasure derived from the perusal makes me desirous of having the whole in my possession. They carry us into the fastnesses of our mountains, the depth of our forests, the watery wilderness of our lakes and rivers, giving us pictures of savage life and savage tribes, Indian legends, fishing and hunting anecdotes, the adventures of trappers and backwoodsmen; our whole arcanum, in short, of indigenous poetry and romance: to use a favorite phrase of the old discoverers, "they lay open the secrets of the country to us."

I return you thanks for the delightful entertainment which your Summer rambles have afforded me. I do not see that I have any literary advice to give you, excepting to keep on as you have begun. You seem to have the happy, enjoyable humor of old Izaak Walton, and I trust you will give us still further scenes and adventures on our great internal waters, depicted with the freshness and skill of your present volumes.

With the best wishes for your further success, I am

Very truly, your obliged

WASHINGTON IRVING.

EDWARD EVERETT wrote:

I fully concur with the opinions expressed by Mr. Irving on the subject of a collective edition of your narrative and descriptive writings. While I am not familiar with all of them, from those which I have read and from his emphatic and discriminating commendation, I am confident the series would be welcomed by a large class of readers. You have explored nooks in our scenery seldom visited, and described forms of life and manners of which the greater portion of our busy population are entirely ignorant.

Wishing you every success, I am

Very truly yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

A selection of a few of Mr. Lanman's chapters will give a slight idea of the variety of his book:

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VOL. I

NO. 3

THE

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MARCH 1905

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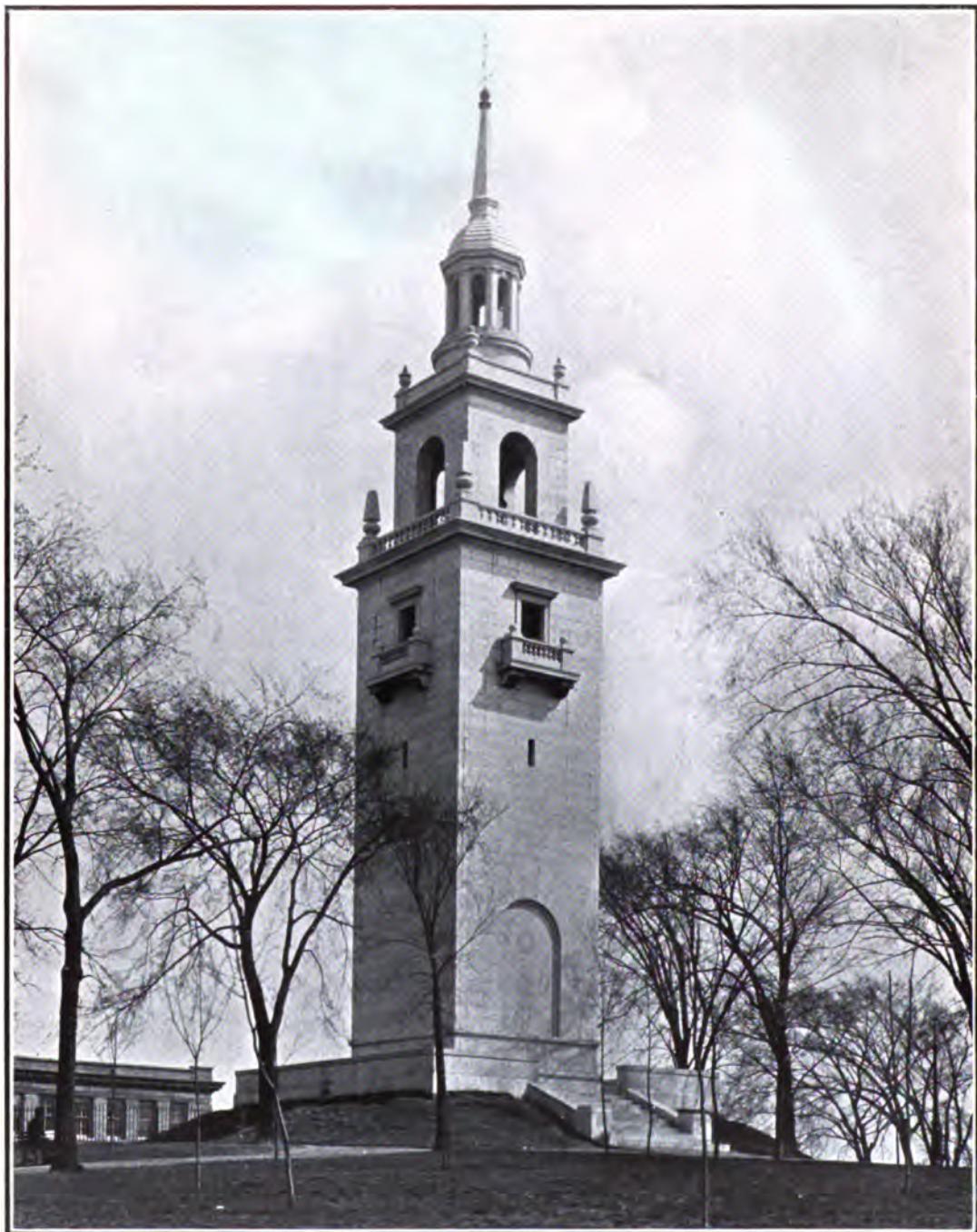
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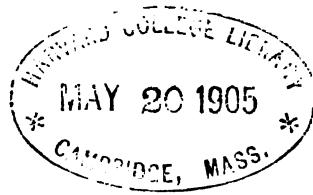
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THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. I

MARCH, 1905

No. 3

IRISH EMIGRATION DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

IRISH people were among the pioneers in this country from almost the first settlement on the Atlantic coast, and continued until the line of immigration had crossed the continent to the Pacific.

The Colonial records bear testimony that Irish people were here at an early period, and so many hamlets on the frontier were designated by distinctive Irish names that had we no other proof than these facts, we could not honestly divest ourselves of the conviction that Ireland contributed more in numbers for the development of this country than came from any other one source.

Great injustice has been done the Irish people by depriving them of credit so justly due them. This has resulted partly from ignorance, but to a greater extent it is due to an influence exerted prior to the first settlement in this country. The purpose which prompts this injustice has been maintained through English influence, and has always been wanting so much in charity to the Irish people, that we can hope to accomplish little in any effort to establish the truth so long as individuals in this country are willing to have their judgment influenced by the policy of a foreign power.

The same influence has been as actively engaged in claiming that we are English; that this country is consequently "a worthy daughter of a more worthy mother!" Yet my investigations have impressed me with the belief that of the seventy-five millions forming our present population, there are a far greater number of individuals who could be certain of their African origin, than there are those who could prove a direct English descent.

It is not sufficient to show proof of an ancestor sailing from an English port, as all such were rated during the seventeenth century as English,

without reference to their nationality. Moreover the bearing of an English name would be no more conclusive, as we shall show that a large proportion of the "Wild Irish" were compelled by law to assume English surnames, which their descendants bear at the present time.

I have no precise data bearing directly upon the earliest immigration of the Irish to this country, for none exist. On the other hand, the assertion that they were among the first settlers, and the most numerous afterwards, cannot be rejected or disproved. I will now very clearly show, as circumstantial evidence, that throughout the greater portion of the seventeenth century a dire provocation existed, and that the Catholics were driven out of Ireland by a persecution which has never been equaled. The world to-day is in ignorance of the fact, since a complete history of Ireland, and of the suffering borne by a majority of the people, has yet to be written.

Whenever an advantage was to be gained by falsifying an historical event in connection with Ireland, the English Government has never hesitated, in the past, to exercise its influence for that purpose. Yet with a strange inconsistency every record in the keeping of the government bearing upon its own immediate history, is zealously preserved, notwithstanding the most damning testimony is thus furnished of corruption, double dealing and crime.

As an American I would gladly have laid aside all religious appellations if it had been possible otherwise to have done justice to my subject, but unfortunately, as a consequence of the prejudices of centuries, not a few people regard the "Protestant Irishman," the "Presbyterian Irishman," and the "Catholic Irishman" as so many distinct species of the human family. The necessity, therefore, exists in doing justice to Ireland, that all at least in relation to the Catholic portion should be made prominent, as this precludes the plea of being either English or "Scotch-Irish."

But as regards the race, the fact is that even within the period of which we shall treat in regard to the forced emigration, there remained in Ireland but little of the pure old Celtic stock. The inhabitants of Ireland had been gradually becoming a mixed people, and were as much of an aggregation as the population of the United States is a conglomeration of all other races. Yet there is something in the Irish climate and surroundings, which, even within a generation, exercises a powerful influence in bringing the descendants of all foreigners to a type possessing much in common, and with characteristics unlike any other people.

It was not until near the close of the reign of Charles the First, that the Irish people were forced to emigrate. Therefore, I propose to begin with a brief reference to the so-called "Rebellion of 1641."

In this movement Charles the First of England was the active spirit, and if ever a man richly deserved his fate through retributive justice, Charles rightly suffered. His inhuman treatment of the Irish people, who had been most loyal to him, would have justified his execution if no other cause existed. No historical event, which antedates the testimony of living witnesses, can be more clearly established in all its details than the history of this forced outbreak in 1641, and this can be done notwithstanding there are few instances in history which have been more distorted by falsehood.

It would not be germane to my subject to enter into detail at greater length than to establish the provocation or necessity existing at this time, for a large emigration of the Irish people. The English government had long held for the crown an absurd claim which involved the title of every estate in Connaught. The Catholics held nine-tenths of the land and they bore in numbers about the same proportion to the population. During the reign of James an effort had been made to clear off this claimed lien, and large sums of money had been paid by the owners to the English government for this purpose, with the understanding that these transactions should be made a public record.

When Charles came to the throne it was found that James had appropriated this money for his own use, and the only record existing was one in which only the title of estates held by Protestants was established.

For an additional sum Charles promised, among many other promises which he did not keep, to have the title of the estates held by the Catholics cleared of all government claims, wherever the holder could prove his right of possession. For this ostensible purpose a commission was appointed, at the head of which was the Lord Chief Justice and the chief prosecuting officer for the crown in Ireland.

It is now known that the real object of the commission was to obtain some pretext for a general confiscation of the land, and to make a plantation of Catholic Connaught, after the people had been disposed of. As a stimulus to the zeal of these officers an additional bonus of two shillings in the pound was granted from the value of each estate confiscated to the crown, when made on the plea of a defective title. The owner was generally made foreman of the jury and whenever the verdict was a "Pre-

varication on the evidence" as it was termed, and not for the crown, he was fined to bankruptcy, his estate confiscated "legally," and the jurymen were both fined and imprisoned.

But this semblance of justice proved to be too slow a process, so the country was suddenly overrun with English troops to force an extended outbreak. Additional instructions were given to exterminate, if possible, the whole Catholic population, English as well as Irish, as is clearly proved by the writings of Leland, Clarendon, Warner, Carte, and others, who had no sympathy for the Irish people.

The cattle and all available property were seized; persons in all stations of life were imprisoned, without having charges preferred against them, or they were wilfully murdered without provocation; the wives and daughters of the Catholic Irish were subjected to unspeakable brutality, and it was a frequent boast that no woman was spared; the well and the sick, the young and the old, were indiscriminately turned adrift, their houses were burned, and all provisions and stores which could not be used by the troops were wantonly destroyed.

No less than three thousand heads of families, constituting the Catholic nobility and gentry, and the owners of the land in the west of Ireland, were imprisoned, charged with treason, and their property was seized.

A new commission was now formed, consisting of judge and jurymen in English interests, yet who were sworn, it is supposed, to investigate with some pretence of honesty the charge of treason against these individuals. As a result of their labors *over one thousand indictments were drawn up by this commission in two days*, by which each individual was found guilty of treason, thus losing his life, and his property was seized for the crown! If it be assumed that this jury worked continuously each day for twelve hours, the average would be about one indictment for a little less than every minute and a half. During which time it was supposed that witnesses duly sworn were examined as to the guilt of each individual, and after due deliberation and after giving the prisoner the benefit of all doubt, where the testimony was deemed unreliable, the verdict had been rendered.

Is it possible to conceive of a more complete travesty on justice? The prisoners knew nothing of the proceedings, and the average time for conviction of less than one minute and a half was scarcely sufficient to add the signatures necessary to give each death warrant a semblance of legality.

By this one transaction the British crown came into possession of some ten millions of acres, which was a little more than one-half of all the available land in Ireland.

Between five and six hundred thousand men, women, and children were slaughtered, or died from starvation. Many thousand were sent to the West Indies, or to the American colonies, and sold as slaves. A limited number escaped to the mountains, where many died from starvation, and the remainder lived for years a life in common with the wild beasts, with a price upon their heads, and were hunted as such. The whole and entire population of this great tract of country disappeared, and was literally wiped out.

Shortly after, Cromwell overran the south and southwestern portion of Ireland which was also chiefly settled by Catholics, and they received as little mercy from his army as had been meted out to those of their creed in Connaught. When Cromwell had completed his work at least two-thirds of the landed property in Ireland had been confiscated; and after the greater portion of the Catholic Irish men, women, and children had been put to the sword, or driven into exile, the whole country became resettled with his soldiers, or by persons devoted to the English interest. Over one hundred thousand young children, who had been made orphans, or who were taken from their Catholic parents, were sent to the West Indies, to Virginia, or to New England, that they thus might lose their faith, as well as all knowledge of their nationality.

During this period thousands of Irishmen were driven into exile, to enter the armies of European nations, or to emigrate and settle on the frontiers of the American colonies, as a bulwark against the Indians, for the protection of the more favored settlers on the coast.

In addition, a host of both men and women who were taken prisoners, were sold in Virginia and New England as slaves, and without respect to their former station in life.

In later years, certain writers have attempted to pervert the truth by claiming that these men and women, who were refined and educated, and who had been the owners of the confiscated lands, were convicts. But I have not been able to obtain any reliable evidence to prove that Virginia or any of the American colonies were ever made penal settlements.

The Catholics of Ireland were the only people of Europe who had at

this time so great a necessity for leaving their country. It is a well established fact that during the greater part of the eighteenth century thousands of able-bodied male Catholics, in the south and western portion of Ireland, left the country at an early period of life for some European port, and very few ever returned. This is corroborated by the circumstance that the Catholic population of Ireland steadily decreased during this period, and at one time it was less than half a million of individuals, scattered through the bogs and wilds of the country.

The wealthy English people invested their money freely in the early settlement of the West Indies and in Virginia, but they remained at home. The middle and lower classes, who were more likely to have emigrated to a new country, were, to a great extent, contented at home. They had no cause to leave it, as the political changes which occurred in England during the seventeenth century had a decided tendency to better their condition.

I believe that with the exception of some among the first settlers in Virginia and New England, the far greater portion of the English who did emigrate during the seventeenth, and the first half of the eighteenth, century, went to Bermuda, Barbados, Jamaica, and the other West India Islands, and did not come to this country. The American colonies were mostly settled under a grant to some proprietor or corporation, with more restrictions on business pursuits than were made by the English government for the West India Islands. Consequently the field for individual enterprise was greater in the Islands.

Those of English birth who settled on the mainland did so largely in Virginia and Carolina, and as a rule their business was confined to the seaport towns. I believe that a larger proportion of the English than of any other people, when successful in business, returned in after life to their native country, or went with their families to Barbados or Jamaica to invest their money in sugar plantations. It is from this circumstance that these islands have always been more English in character than any American colony now within the territory of the United States.

For an Irishman without means there was no opening in any of the West India Islands but as a common laborer. In the American colonies, however, he could easily reach the frontiers, free from all restriction after he had served out the time necessary to pay for his passage, and could

there establish his independence with the labor of clearing off the forest from the land selected by himself.

In consequence of the restrictions made by England to destroy Irish commerce, it is well known that for several centuries the intercourse between Ireland and different continental countries, by means of vessels engaged in smuggling, was far greater than by any communication with England, which was almost an unknown land to the west coast Irishman.

It is not possible to form even an estimate as to the number of Irish who went by means of these smugglers, chiefly to France and Spain. We only know the fact that a steady current of impoverished Irishmen passed over to the continent year after year. We also know that a very large number served in the armies of those countries, but it is doubtful, under any circumstances, if more than a comparatively small proportion of the number could have been thus provided for. Of the remaining portion but few could have had any other means of support, and no other explanation presents itself but emigration to America from necessity, and on their arrival in a foreign vessel their nationality would have been overlooked.

The English government during the eighteenth century allowed no vessel, knowingly, to sail from Ireland direct, but it was necessary by law first to visit an English port before clearance papers could be obtained for the voyage. A record was also kept for the purpose of collecting a head tax on every individual thus leaving an English port for the colonies. I have gone carefully over this register, and to my surprise scarcely a name appears which could be identified with Ireland. Notwithstanding this fact the official register has been cited in proof that there was no emigration from Ireland but those who were sent abroad in servitude, and consequently that this country for a century, at least, was settled chiefly by English people.

But we must remember that every Irishman in Ireland within reach of English authority was at that time governed by the following law: "An act that Irishmen dwelling in the counties of, etc. . . . go appareled like Englishmen and wear their beards after the English manner, swear allegiance, and take English surnames; which surnames shall be of one town, as Sutton, Chester, Trim, Skryne, Corke, Kinsale; or colours, as white, black, brown; or arts or sciences, as smith or carpenter; or office, as cook, butler, etc., and it is enacted that he and his issue shall use this name under pain of forfeiting of his goods yearly, etc." As a consequence every Irish

emigrant crossing in an Irish or English vessel and from either England or Ireland, appeared in the official record as English, for the voyage did not begin according to law until cleared from an English port.

By this circumstance we prove the converse, that a large Irish emigration did reach this country by some route which was not under English control. How otherwise can we explain the presence of undoubted Irish surnames unchanged, as found in early records of the country. And on the other hand we find to-day Irishmen and their descendants in this country, bearing the names of Sutton, Chester, Kinsale, White, Black, Brown, Smith, Carpenter, Cook, Butler, etc., proving thereby that this law was enforced, by which they were deprived of their pure Irish names, and that they did not change these names after coming to this country.

Virginia was undoubtedly first settled by the English, but at an early period the Irish began to come in, bound to serve a stated term in payment for their passage money, but eventually these people became free men, settling down on the frontier, and their descendants in the next generation, as indicated by their names appearing in the records, began to take part in the affairs of the colony.

Maryland was largely settled by Irish Catholics, and Calvert himself received his title of Lord Baltimore from a place in the southwest of Ireland.

William Penn spent a portion of his life in Ireland before he received his grant in America. A number of his followers were Irish, and the most prominent person next to Penn himself was James Logan, an Irishman, who acted as governor of the province for a number of years. He was most tolerant to the Irish Catholics, who were allowed free exercise of their religion, and they received protection in this colony from the first settlement.

Many of those who first settled in New Jersey were from Ireland, and there were undoubtedly some Irish in New Amsterdam. In the Jesuit *Relations* it is shown that Father Jogues, who afterwards suffered the death of a martyr among the Indians of Central New York, came about 1642 from Canada to administer to some of his faith then living among the Dutch and in New Jersey.

In 1634 the General Court of Massachusetts Bay granted lands on the Merrimac river for an Irish settlement, and there were many Irishmen who

served in King Philip's Indian War, whose names are still preserved in the colonial records. I have a record of the fact, but neglected to note the authority, of a reference to a contemporaneous account of a fearful storm which occurred in the winter of 1634-'35, off the north coast of Ireland.¹ As one of the incidents mention is made of the shipwreck of a vessel filled with Irish emigrants, on the second day out of their voyage to join, as was stated, the Merrimac river settlement in New England.

This straw of information is a valuable indication in our current of circumstantial evidence. It establishes the fact by another source that an Irish settlement was planted on the Merrimac river as early as 1634. It also shows that however intolerant the New England Puritans were sometimes to the Irish in their immediate surroundings, they did tolerate in this instance and likely in many others, the "fighting Irish," as they were termed. In fact they gave little thought to their religious belief so long as they remained on the frontier to fight the Indians. This incident shows that emigrants sailed from the north of Ireland for this settlement, notwithstanding it may have been necessary to have officially commenced their voyage from an English port. The fact as to their religion is established by a knowledge of the condition of the country at that particular time, which I have attempted to describe. The Catholics were fleeing in all directions from the districts of country which had been laid waste, and in some instances they had to subsist on the dead bodies of those who had preceded them, and who had died on the way from starvation. Comparatively few but Catholics left Ireland at this time, as individuals in sympathy with the English were then busy in bettering their condition by securing a portion of the spoils.

There were a number of adult Catholics, as I have stated, sent out to New England through the efforts of Cromwell, and, although they may not have come at that time as willing emigrants, they were not likely to have lost their faith under the circumstances, and their descendants must afterwards have become identified with the country.

Prendergast in "The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland," states the following: "As one instance out of many: Captain Vernon was employed by the commissioners for Ireland into [from] England, and contracted in

¹ Thomas D'Arcy McGee in his "History of the Irish Settlers in North America" says that "in 1636, the *Eagle Wing*, with one hundred and forty passengers, sailed from Carrickfergus to found an Irish colony on the Merrimac, but had to put back owing to stress of weather, and the project was for many years abandoned."

their behalf with Mr. David Selleck and Mr. Leader, under his hand, bearing date of 14th of September, 1653, to supply them with two hundred and fifty women of the Irish nation, above twelve years and under the age of forty-five, also three hundred men above twelve years of age and under fifty, to be found in the country within twenty miles of Cork . . . to transplant them into New England." These men and women were seized and sold in New England at a profit for the English commissioners. Pendergast further states in this connection: "How many girls of gentle birth must have been caught and hurried to the private prisons of these men-catchers none can tell." "But at last the evil became too shocking and notorious, particularly when these dealers in Irish flesh began to seize the daughters and children of the English themselves, and to force them on board their slave ships; then, indeed, the orders, at the end of four years, were revoked."

If we take into consideration the total number of "Puritan Fathers" in New England at this time, it would seem not improbable that these two hundred and fifty young Irish women, with many others sent over from Ireland about the same time, must have all eventually been transformed at least into Irish Puritans. If so their progeny must in time have given quite a Hibernian tint to the blue blood of the descendants from the *Mayflower*. I have not found that the New England writers have noted these facts, but probably they failed to do so on evidence that they were not "Scotch-Irish" women.

From the time that William of Orange possessed himself of the British crown and until the beginning of our Revolution, a steady stream of emigrants passed out of Ireland to this country. The English government manifested a determination to destroy utterly every Irish industry, and this policy was maintained until the Volunteer movement, when for a period a portion at least of the Irish people had charge of their own affairs.

William III., in consequence of his hatred of the Irish people, both Catholic and Protestant, caused the destruction of all woolen manufactories, and other industries of the north of Ireland. The so-called "Scotch-Irish" were chiefly the sufferers at this time, and as a consequence thousands of them emigrated to France, where, with the assistance of the French government, these people established in that country woolen and silk industries which, for nearly two hundred years, have been a constant menace to England's trade.

After the departure of a large portion of these people from Ulster, the country became again gradually settled from England, and by Catholic, Presbyterian, and Protestant Irish from different parts of Ireland, who were not Scotch.

In a few years later a large proportion of the Irish Presbyterians, with a limited number of Catholics in Ulster, became engaged in commerce and various manufacturing interests. But all these people were ultimately ruined by England's policy, that Ireland should not prosper, and they were gradually forced to leave the country to better their condition by emigration to the American colonies.

The Presbyterians who settled in the north of Ireland, after the early part of the eighteenth century, had come chiefly from the central portion of England, and as a rule represented the better element among the new settlers. They, like Cromwell, hated the Scotch, and would never have accepted the term "Scotch-Irish" for themselves. After "the Restoration" these people in common with the Catholics were only tolerated as non-conformists, and were not allowed by the Protestant authorities to take any part in public affairs.

From adversity these people became in time more tolerant towards their fellow sufferers, the Catholic portion of the population, and were finally moulded into a remarkably fine and self-reliant type of men. Those who emigrated to the colonies were well fitted to help lay the foundation of the American Republic, and those who remained behind proved sturdy patriots. A little more than one hundred years ago they originated in Belfast the United Irishmen movement, and they were the first to make the demand for religious tolerance in Ireland, that their Catholic countrymen might be free to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience.

During the last century, Maine, New Hampshire, the greater part of Vermont and west Massachusetts, west Pennsylvania, a large portion of Maryland, the western part of Virginia, between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany mountains, into North Carolina, along the French Broad river, to the upper part of South Carolina, and into the territory now forming Tennessee and Kentucky, with a part of the Northwest Territory, to the north of the Ohio river, and which then belonged to Virginia, was largely, and in some sections was entirely, settled by Irish, who did not change their names before or after leaving Ireland. From the latter circumstance the course of settlement can be traced by the surnames of the first settlers, and

the indications are rendered all the stronger by the names of so many settlements which clearly indicate the localities in Ireland whence these people came.

It can be claimed that some of these Irish emigrants were of English descent from some period more or less remote. This was doubtless true, but they became Irish by birth, and were no longer in sympathy with English interests, or they would not have left the country. Notwithstanding the severe penalties, which were so long in operation, for "taking up with the Irishry," the fate of many of the invaders was the same after each invasion. In time they yielded to the charms of the Irish women, and their progeny became often more Irish than those from the original Celtic stock. The descendants of many a Cromwellian soldier can be found in Ireland and abroad, who are to-day bitter and uncompromising foes to England's rule in Ireland, and are a potent check to her influence elsewhere.

I have found reported among the debates in the Irish Parliament, a speech by the Hon. Luke Gardiner, delivered April 2d, 1784, on Irish Commerce, and from which I quote: "America was lost by Irish emigrants. These emigrations are fresh in the recollection of every gentleman in this house. I am assured, from the best authority, the major part of the American army was composed of Irish, and that the Irish language was as commonly spoken in the American ranks as English. I am also informed it was their valor determined the contest, so that England had America detached from her by force of Irish emigrants, etc."

I find in Marmion's work, "The Ancient and Modern History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland," some interesting facts bearing upon a portion of the exodus to this country:

In 1771, 1772, and 1773, over twenty-five thousand emigrants left Belfast, and other ports in that immediate neighborhood, for the American colonies, in consequence of having been evicted from one of the estates of the Marquis of Donegal, in Antrim.

Marmion states, "The emigrants were chiefly farmers and manufacturers who, it was calculated, by converting their property into specie, which they took with them abroad, deprived Ulster of one-fourth of its circulating medium, which then consisted altogether of specie; and also a portion equal thereto to the most valuable part of its population."

Could Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, enlighten us as

to the effect from bringing this amount of specie into the country, we would realize that the benefit was an incalculable one, and it is a matter of surprise that the writers of our history have not noted so important a circumstance.

What credit we had in this country after the paper money had depreciated, was based upon this specie throughout the greater part of the Revolution. Among many instances to this purpose was its use in moving the army to Virginia with such expedition as to ensure the capture of Cornwallis, which event contributed more to the termination of the war than any other; and without the credit based on this specie the struggle would have terminated long before the alliance was made with France.

The Irish people throughout this country were with few exceptions in sympathy with the cause of the colonies, and immediately after the battle of Bunker Hill thousands among them entered the army, but particularly such was the case with these emigrants from the north of Ireland, who, from their continuous service and discipline, became a mainstay of the organization until the end of the war. These Irishmen, who had settled in Pennsylvania, turned out chiefly under the command of Col. Edward Hand and Col. William Irvine. They were both Irishmen, and had served as surgeons in the British service, the first in the army and the latter in the navy.

Hand was certainly of Catholic parents from the north of Ireland, and his command, composed largely of Presbyterians, joined the army before Boston shortly after Washington took command. But the arrival of Hand's troops, it is claimed, had been preceded a few days by a body of Catholic Irishmen from Maryland and lower Pennsylvania, under the command of Col. Stephen Moylan, who was a personal friend of Washington, an aide on his staff, and an active officer throughout the war. Moylan was a brother of the Catholic bishop of Cork, Ireland, who was a devoted friend to the American cause.

Joseph Galloway, a native of Maryland, but long a resident of Pennsylvania before the Revolution, was one of the best informed men in the colonies, and probably, with the exception of Franklin, had no equal as to his accurate knowledge relating to the general condition of affairs in the country. He was an early and active sympathizer in the American cause until the Declaration of Independence, when he became a Loyalist. During a visit to England he was examined in June, 1779, before an investigating committee of the House of Commons, and his testimony has been frequently

published. When asked as to the composition of the Rebel army—his can answer the question with precision,—there were scarcely one-fourth answer was—“The names and places of their nativity being taken down I natives of America; about one-half Irish,—the other fourth were English and Scotch.” He might have stated more in detail, that the fourth part was composed of some English, very few Scotch, and more Germans, or Dutch, as they were called, from Pennsylvania and the valley of Virginia, who formed the brigade under the command of Muhlenberg, and the Eighth Virginia regiment.

Galloway’s testimony was in relation to his experience while superintendent of the police in Philadelphia during the British occupancy. It is but just to state that to a subsequent question, “Do you know anything of the army of the Rebels in general, how that is composed—of what country people?” His answer was, “I judge of that by the deserters that came over.” Had we no other testimony to corroborate Galloway’s first statement it would be to the discredit of the Irish, but taken as a whole it is shown that no larger proportion of them deserted than of any other nationality; and if the proportion of native born from Irish parents could be ascertained, the number of deserters among those of Irish blood would be shown to have been less than any other.

I have estimated that about one-fourth of all the American officers were Irish by birth or descent.

A large number of Irish were in the Continental Congress or prominent as leaders in every station of life. I may mention that even Washington was possibly descended on his father’s side from a Washington who had lived in Ireland, and his mother’s family, the Balls, beyond doubt came from the neighborhood of Dublin. Walford in his “Country Families of the United Kingdom” shows that at the present time the only families with any property bearing the name of Ball, are to be found in Ireland. The family, it is stated, came to Ireland in the fourteenth century as Flemish emigrants. The De Wessyngtons, it is also claimed, were Flemish, who settled about the same time in both England and Ireland. But the head of the English family, it seems, died some years before the planting of Jamestown, Va. The members of the Irish branch¹ have all been traced and some of them this country. One, a son of Henry Washington, who was

¹ See “The Irish Washingtons at Home and Abroad; together with Some Mention of the Ancestry of the American Pater Patriæ. By George Washington of Dublin, Ireland, and Thomas Hamilton Murray, Boston.” Boston: The Carrollton Press, 1898.

a prominent man, disappeared from Ireland during the troubles I have described. He probably escaped to Bermuda, where many vessels first stopped on their way to the American colonies.

During a visit to Bermuda in 1852, I had occasion to examine some of the early church records. I there saw several references made in the minutes of the Vestry meetings to one Washington, "a sojourner," who was several times fined for not conforming by attending the service of the Established church. He seems to have proved incorrigible as he was finally ordered "to go his way." He probably did go to Virginia, from the known fact that his father had been a friend of Lord Baltimore, and others who were connected with the Virginia settlements.

The Irish Presbyterians and Catholics were in full sympathy with this country during the Revolution, while in Ireland or elsewhere there were very few Scotch who favored the American cause. A noted exception to the rule was John Witherspoon, a signer of the Declaration of Independence from New Jersey, who was a devoted patriot. The only large settlement of Scotch in the colonies was formed in North Carolina by the British government, after the battle of Culloden, by transplanting the Highlanders. Among them was Flora McDonald, whose husband, with every other man in the settlement, espoused the English cause and fought against the Americans.

It is full time that we divest ourselves of English influence in this country. Until this be done we will remain in ignorance of the truth relating to a large portion of our history, which has yet to be written in strict accord with the facts.

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SIDE-LIGHTS ON CAROLINA HISTORY

(Concluded From February Number.)

RICE CULTURE IN THE "FORTIES"

THE rice-industry of South Carolina was so important a feature of State prosperity that a brief description of the method of cultivation then in vogue may not be without interest, more especially as this "water-culture" has now been almost entirely superseded by a newer mode of agriculture.

In the days of which I write, the numerous labor-saving machines in common use in Northern States were, if not entirely unknown, yet rarely to be found on the plantations of the Carolina coast. The only agricultural implements in general use being the hoe, rake, spade, plough, and harrow. Indeed, the whole equipment was so essentially primitive as almost to provoke a smile in these progressive days.

Even the method of ploughing did not conform to conventional rules, for the rich black alluvial soil of the rice fields made the labour so heavy, that the planters generally preferred to use oxen instead of horses or mules to draw—or, more properly speaking, to drag—the plough through the stiff loam.

This peculiarity of the soil was due to the topography of the tide water rice-plantations, the fields always lying in bottom land below the level of the adjacent water-courses, from the overflow of which they were protected by high dikes, or "banks," as they were called in Carolina. These banks were provided with "trunks" (sluice-gates) by means of which the fields were irrigated at certain stages of the crop's growth, the system of culture pursued being exclusively the water-culture. The fields were intersected by ditches large and small, running at right angles with each other. Through the broadest of these, the "trunk-docks," which constituted the main arteries of the irrigation, boats passed from the river or creek outside the banks into the fields within at harvest time to collect the cut rice and convey it to the distant storehouse.

These boats, known as "flats," were very large *bateaus*, possessing

neither keel nor bow, and propelled by long heavy oars with which they were either rowed or poled along, according as it was navigating the inland or the outside water. However, we are harvesting the crop before planting it; so begin at the beginning.

The first step each season in preparing for the next year's crop was to "burn the trash," in the late autumn or early winter; not only the stubble remaining in the fields had to be got rid of, but also a large collection of drift *débris* deposited by successive inundations. This was raked together in heaps and set on fire, and for several weeks an atmosphere of smoke hung over the plantations. Though somewhat unpleasant, these fires were not dangerous, for they were confined to the fields and banks, from which the buildings on a rice plantation were always far removed, these standing upon firm, high ground.

After the "trash" burning came the ploughing—and pretty stiff work it was, even for the oxen. Had Cincinnatus been obliged to drive his longed-for plough through rice-field mud, he would probably have thought twice before abandoning his civic honors to return to it!

Patience and perseverance accomplished all things, however, and in the course of the winter the ploughing was done; next came the breaking of the clods, first by the harrow, and then by the hoe. By this time it was March, the planting season, the *modus operandi* of which process was as follows: The "drivers," as the negro leaders or "bosses" were called, with stakes and line marked out the furrows, and the "hands" (the rest of the negroes) hoed them. To each worker was apportioned so many "rows." These were very shallow depressions about five or six inches apart running the whole length of the field. When this work was completed the next step was to prepare the grain.

The seed-rice was carefully dipped in wet clay to make it heavy and sticky, and prevent its floating when the water was turned on—or to use the plantation diction, "when the fields were flowed." The "claying" being accomplished, the "hands" were divided into two gangs; the first went through the fields scattering the grain (which was carried in great rush baskets), by handfuls into the furrows, and immediately behind came the second, armed with hoes to cover the rice before it could be seized by the ever-watchful birds, who seemed to be as well-informed as the planters themselves on the subject of seed time and harvest. As soon as the grain was planted, the sluice-gates were opened and the fields inundated, the

water being allowed to remain on them till the rice sprouted. This first flowing of the fields was called the "short water," to distinguish it from the "long water" which came later in the season, generally about the end of May or the first of June, and was allowed to cover the rice for six weeks. It was when this "long water" was drawn off that the miasma from the fields was considered dangerous. Until the end of May families could remain on their rice plantations with impunity; and indeed, these old plantation homes were pictures of loveliness during the spring months. Over the lowlands was spread a carpet of the most vivid emerald, for nothing could be more brilliantly green than the rice fields when they emerged from their "short water" bath; while the woods of the highlands were gay with wild flowers, and the gardens were one mass of bloom.

From the time the first water was drawn off to that when the second was turned on, the only labor to be performed in the fields was to keep the rice free from grass. Constant hoeing *between* the rows, and weeding by hand *among* the rows was necessary; "pulling grass," the negroes called it. After the "long water" the need was the same, but by that time the plant was stronger and required less delicate manipulation. From then on till harvest time, the work was light; but with the ripening of the grain, incessant vigilance was necessary to prevent the wholesale depredations of those most rapacious marauders, the rice birds. It seems absurd to say that the planters dreaded these tiny foes, but those who have ever watched a cloud of rice birds hovering over a field of ripe rice, know that this bird-pest is only second in destructiveness to the locust plague of Egypt.

With the harvest season began the heaviest work of the plantation year; the entire force was turned out, and each able-bodied man and woman was expected to do a "full task," as the day's appointed labor was called. The men went ahead with their reaping-hooks, and the women followed close behind, deftly spreading the cut rice upon the stubble to dry. It was not left there long, however, the danger from bad weather was too great; as soon as possible the grain was bound into sheaves and removed from the low-lying fields to the greater security of the high and dry land. There it was stacked into ricks ten or fifteen feet high to await the process of threshing.

Now I am not depicting an Oriental scene, but describing an ordinary South Carolina rice plantation when I say that this threshing was done by men and women with flails, the grain being spread out before them on a floor of asphalt. (And some of my readers may be too "modern" even

to know what a flail is! I shall describe one. The flail is composed of two long, stout sticks fastened together by a strong hinge of leather, and its use consists in beating the grain free from the straw by a series of vigorous strokes.) But after the rice had been separated in this way, there was still a large admixture of chaff adhering to it from which it had to be freed by winnowing.

On every plantation stood an odd-looking building resembling a large, square room on stilts some twenty feet high; this was the "winnowing house." A high flight of open, outside steps led up to it, and in the center of the floor was a large trap-door. There the rice was brought as it was threshed out, and on windy days it was thrown through the trap to the threshing-floor beneath where, as it fell, it was carefully swept up into heaps with brooms composed of bundles of dog-fennel twigs, by the old women of the plantation on whom this light duty devolved. Then the younger women shoveled it back again into baskets and "toted" it on their heads to the rice barn, where it remained until shipped to the pounding-mill, there to undergo the final process of separating the husk from the grain, or in other words, to be converted from the "rough rice" of the plantation into the "clean rice" of commerce. (In very early days even the pounding of the rice was done by hand in a wooden mortar on the plantation, but that was long before the time of which I write.)

Very primitive, almost barbarous all this sounds, no doubt to modern ears. Yet these old planters managed to make such comfortable incomes as quite to excite the wonder and envy of their "progressive" and "advanced" successors; and notwithstanding their rude methods "Carolina rice" was noted in the rice markets of the world for its superiority to any other.

To show that rice planting was a profitable industry in the olden time, I give an extract from the private account book of a South Carolina planter for the years 1843, '44 and '45:

Acres.	Bus. per Acre.	1843		
		Bus.	Net.	Cents per Bus.
356	52 to 46	18,588	\$13,039.13	70 to 48
		1844		
352	55 to 13	19,375	\$15,335.18	79 to 30
		1845		
350	219 to 46	16,411	\$19,297.97	\$1.17 to 97

A SOVEREIGN IN HIS OWN DOMAIN

Such was the planter of the Carolina coast, whose estate not unfrequently equalled or exceeded in extent the holdings of many of the petty German Princelings. Inside of these territorial limits his authority was—within certain bounds—supreme; but he was far from being the irresponsible arbiter of fate to his dependants which the outside world supposed. Each Southern State reserved to itself the exclusive power of life and death over whites and blacks alike. Nay more, inhumanity to negroes which could not be punished by statute, was at once repressed by bringing to bear upon the evil-doers the crushing weight of public obloquy; and moral suasion of this sort was almost without exception found to be effective at the South.

Although an autocrat, the planter was seldom inclined to be a despot. Almost invariably the kindest relations existed between a master and his "people" ("slaves," they were never called by their owners), and the fact that on numberless plantations the master and the overseers were the only white men in the midst of hundreds of slaves, proves incontrovertably that there was none of that cruel tyranny on the one side, and burning resentment of injury on the other, popularly supposed to be inseparable from the institution of slavery.

It has been asserted, time and again, that Northern missionaries who came to the South immediately after the Civil War, found the blacks in a state of absolute heathenism. In this paper I undertake to speak only of my own section, and in that section a very different condition of things existed.

So far were the Carolina planters from neglecting the religious instruction of their negroes, that they took special pains to secure it; the planters of a neighborhood combining to pay a salary to a clergyman in order that he might devote himself exclusively to missionary work on their several plantations. Chapels were erected at convenient distances, and services were regularly held. As the negroes generally preferred the Methodist denomination, they were allowed to have their class-leaders and their own special meetings as frequently as their inclination prompted, their masters holding with John Wesley that one might be both "Methodist" and "Churchman." But regularly once a week during the healthy season, the plantation chapel was opened, and they willingly assembled to take part in the services conducted by the Episcopal clergyman. Once a year the bishop visited the plantations to administer the rite of confirmation. The

communion was celebrated at regular intervals, and the children were baptized and couples united in marriage at their own wish, by the plantation chaplain.

On many of the plantations "task-work" was in vogue. A certain amount of work was appointed each negro every day (Sundays always excepted), and when that work was done, however early in the day it might be, the negro was free until the next day came round. As a child on my father's plantation, I have often seen the whole "gang" trooping home at twelve o'clock. At certain seasons when there was a press of work, a different arrangement would be made, but ordinarily this was the plan pursued.

Each well-appointed plantation had its hospital and its "children's house," as it was called in those days—a day-nursery we should call it now—where all the children were collected and left under the charge of a trustworthy old nurse while the mothers were at work. The "negro houses," as we called them, were small, one-storey cottages, substantially built and weather-tight, with a sufficiency of windows for ventilation, and great open fire-places to delight the negro heart. Each had its little garden plot attached where fruit and vegetables were cultivated, and any negro who was thrifty enough, might have his cow, pigs, and poultry. These things were regarded as his own absolute property. His master bought them sometimes, but never thought of claiming them.

There are exceptions to every rule, and it would be untrue to say that harshness and cruelty were absolutely unknown in South Carolina, but as a class, the negroes were a well-cared for, happy set of people throughout the entire State. The relation between them and their masters being much more that of feudal lord and vassals, than that of owner and slaves. In fact, the so-called slavery of the Carolina coast was really a fragment of the Feudal system of the Middle Ages, projected by a strange anachronism, into the American Republic of the nineteenth century, and it was the Southern whites, not the Southern blacks, who were the chief gainers by emancipation. True, the manner in which that emancipation was effected, involved grave injustice and necessarily entailed suffering and loss upon the South, yet it is not a rash assertion to say that no former slave holders of the better class would be willing to assume again the heavy responsibility from which they have been freed.

The Southern slave holder was born into the world with an hereditary load upon him. He was handicapped in the race of life by the necessity

of supporting and providing for so many absolutely helpless beings from whose claims he could not escape and of whom he could not free himself.

True, the law of the land permitted a master to sell his slaves, but practically this solution of the difficulty was seldom resorted to. At the South slavery, like matrimony, was regarded as an institution that was to be taken "for better, for worse." As a rule, the master considered himself as bound to his slaves for life. Whatever their shortcomings might be, it never occurred to him to break the tie between them.

The system of plantation government was as simple as single-power governments usually are. As I have said, the slave's life was protected by law, and cruelty was sternly repressed by the ban of public sentiment. But with these limitations the planter had absolute control. On a plantation, the master's will was law. He apportioned and regulated labor, settled disputes, meted out rewards and punishments, established such rules and regulations as he saw fit, and in short united in himself all legislative and judicial functions. Indeed, as plantations were sometimes eight, ten, and even twenty miles from the nearest town, this local exercise of authority was a necessity. His chief executive officer was his overseer, and under him were a certain number of "drivers," negroes of exceptional intelligence and good character who, like the non-commissioned officers of the army, exercised supervision and control over the "hands." Each plantation also had its cooper, blacksmith and wheelwright, bricklayer and carpenters. These were all trained in their several callings and were frequently excellent workmen.

Plantation crimes were for the most part offences of which a police court takes cognizance—petty thefts, quarrels, an occasional case of drunkenness, and a still more occasional free fight; also, the shirking of work and impudence to superiors. Such offences were punished by confinement in the lock-up, or by a thrashing. As regards the much graver offence of insubordination, in the rare cases in which it occurred, the negro, who showed a settled determination to defy authority, instead of being starved or whipped to death, as the Northern imagination pictured, was simply banished from the plantation by being deported from the State. This was considered by both master and negroes as being the supreme penalty.

With regard to commissary arrangements: Once a week rations of corn, bacon, and molasses were served out to each family according to its numbers. The storehouse also contained tobacco and "small rice" (the eye of the rice, always separated from the grain in preparing it for market), but these last were luxuries not to be bestowed indiscriminately, but judi-

ciously conferred as a reward of merit. Twice a year each negro was provided with a full outfit, clothing, hat and shoes. Blankets were distributed when necessary. And when a negro couple began housekeeping in a home of their own, they were supplied with bedding, and such cooking utensils, crockery and articles of household furniture as were essential—which last were—like the cottages themselves—the handiwork of the plantation carpenters. Besides the regulation clothing, smaller articles of various sorts were kept on hand to be given as rewards for special services, or for particularly good work. Also, it was an unwritten but well established plantation “law” that a “calabash” (gourd) of eggs brought up to “Ole Miss” at “the house” was always to be returned to the donor full to the brim of sugar, no matter how large the gourd might be, or how few the eggs within! And this allusion to the mistress naturally leads to a few words as to domestic arrangements.

From eight to twelve “satellites” unusually revolved around the family “sun.” Of men servants, the butler with his subordinates, the coachman, footman, gardener, and that important functionary, the cook. Of women servants, a head and under nurse, a seamstress, washerwoman, and two or three housemaids constituted the “working corps” of an ordinary family. We hear much of “specialists,” nowadays: at the South, each servant was a specialist in his or her own line; and in consequence housework might then almost have claimed a place among the fine arts, to such perfection was it carried. It is the fashion to extol the comfort of the present at the expense of the past. What it may be in other parts of the country I do not know, but at the South this is certainly not the case. Under existing conditions, it is true, the style of living in those days would be impossible for us, in these; but I am persuaded that our fathers and grandfathers enjoyed quite as much material comfort as we do; our boasted modern appliances being in most cases only expedients for preserving the old comforts now threatened by modern conditions. But—with its lights and its shadows, its comforts and its cares, the old life is gone beyond recall!

CHARLESTON, S. C.

H. E. BELIN.

AMERICA AND JAPAN

WITHIN a few months it will be forty years since I first visited Japan, and as I was an officer of the Navy I had many opportunities to study the people and the country, and to have experiences that I would not have had except by the courtesies shown to all American Navy officers as a result of Commodore Perry's visit and treaty negotiations a short time before. But Japan has since made wonderful strides, as shown by its representative system of Government; its popular education; its manufacturing implements; the knowledge of science; and, to a degree, Christianity from America. It would be almost superfluous to speak of what Japan has accomplished in the way of a modern Army and Navy to defend itself from the selfish efforts of other and larger nations, for her successes in the war with Russia is fresh evidence in this particular.

A religious publication recently had an article headed "Japan rising from Paganism," and then claimed that Christianity had grown so fast that Japan would soon be known as a Christian nation. If this be true, it would not be so great a surprise, for the Japanese have in a large measure, identified themselves with a belief not far removed from the Christian. Of course, taking them as a whole in the past, it would be hard to say what the religion of the Empire is, for there are many sects, Buddhism probably being the predominating one. When the Mikado renounced his infallible and sacred character there followed considerable looseness in religious thought, a sort of superstition prevailed, and this left all the more room for the advancement of Christianity. Anyone who has spent much time in Japan would naturally conclude that Buddha's teachings, originally a system of humanitarianism, are not strictly kept as a whole, they have become a vast wilderness of contradictory principles and popular idolatry. Another and an interesting belief is Shintoism which many have declared to be the State religion, which is a misconception of the fact, since Japan has no State religion. I remember hearing a statement made at a church meeting recently, where was discussing the need of greater missionary work for the redemption of the Japanese, that the Shinto religion has 8,000,000 gods, and that Shintoists worship

the fox and the white mouse. As a fact, there is no word of fox or white mouse worship mentioned in the several hundred pages of the Kojiki, or Shinto Bible. Shinto worship, in its essence, is a religion in the form of monotheism, with a strong analogy to the Judaism of the Hebrews. The word "Kami" has probably been misunderstood for "fox" or "mouse," yet while it is often found in the Kojiki, it simply means "person," and not a god or divinity; hence, what the Shinto Bible says concerning 8,000,000 Kami means so many persons, not gods, who lived in that period. The true essence of Shintoism, it is claimed by teachers, is to be found in the genesis, or the creation of the world. According to the Shinto writing there existed before the Creation, Heaven and earth and three august gods in the form of the Trinity—the first, the Lord of the Universe; the second the Lord of the present, or of life; the third, the Lord of the hereafter, or of future existence. The one God (but in three) created grass, fish, beasts and all beings in Heaven and on earth, in seven generations, and then he created the first human pair, who, as Adam and Eve, descending from the garden of the high Heaven (Takama—Gehora) produced the whole nation of Japan, and all the rest of the world. This is claimed to be the simple story as told in the Shinto Genesis, which is somewhat similar to Bible history. It is the opinion of many learned men that the ancient Japanese, who claimed to be the children of God and who settled on the fertile islands of Japan and there laid an everlasting foundation of the Mikado's Empire, were the direct descendants of the ancient Israelites.

As to Japan's military power, much credit may be given to the United States: for the Japanese not only were organized by American naval officers, but they have studied and followed American methods of construction, equipment, etc., with the result that Japan has some of the largest and best equipped naval dockyards in the world, and her battleships and other armored vessels are equal to any and superior to those of many other and older nations. Those who were in Yokohama in May, 1868, will recall the arrival there of the warship *Stonewall*, an ironclad ram built in France for the Confederate service and later taken by the Union Navy officials at Havana just at the close of our Civil War. The vessel was purchased by Japan and taken to Yokohama, for delivery, by our own Admiral (then Captain) George Brown. Immediately upon her arrival in Japan, which followed the end of the Japanese rebellion (which was due to the abolishment of the Shogunate or Tycoonate), the Mikado approved of a plan to employ American naval officers to organize a navy

for Japan, first by establishing a school of instruction. Lieutenant Walton Grinnell, then on one of the American men-of-war, accepted a commission as admiral of the Japanese Navy for a term of three years with a salary of 42,000 itzabooos (\$14,000) a year and traveling expenses; the American consul at Hiogo was commissioned chief naval constructor, and the writer was offered the position of engineer-in-chief. The latter offer was not accepted because it would require his resigning from the American Navy. The same was required of Lieutenant Grinnell, but he did give nearly three months of time (with good pay of course) to tutoring a class of Japanese students who subsequently became Japanese Navy officers. This may be said to have been the real, the practical beginning of the navy of the Mikado's Empire, the department of the Government that has made so creditable a record in the war against Russia, as it did in the war against China.

Japan's history is probably as interesting as any in the world, and it is certainly one of the most interesting countries. After being wrapped in feudalism for centuries and hidden from the nations in a sleep of ignorance and superstition, it was touched by the electricity of modern progress, and in less than forty years has been changed from a condition resembling that of the Middle Ages to one which places her on a par with the most advanced nations of the day. Under the Shogun, or the reign of the Tycoons, society was divided into four classes. The first was the "Samurai," the military and official class; the gentleman of society; the soldier in war, the scholar in peace. He could wield either sword or pen, but could not condescend to anything lower than these—and of the two he preferred the sword. The sword to him was the symbol of rank, gentility and chivalry; he might walk the streets without a hat, but never without one or two swords thrust in his belt. The second class was the common farmer; the third the laboring class, and the fourth the trading or money-making class. The merchant, the lowest of the classes, was recognized as a mere money-maker, greedy of gain, given over to selfish interests and of little account in the eyes of men who aimed at something higher. The farmer, on the other hand, was higher in the scale because he tilled the soil and was recognized as of some benefit to others as well as to himself; he labored to feed all, and all respected him because his produce was the standard of circulation, a measure of the country's wealth. The third, or laboring class, included the artisan who builded the houses and did other substantial and ornamental work, therefore he was next in rank to the farmer.

There are specialties among the Japanese people, especially in their figures, their manners, their physiognomy and costumes, which make them an interesting and a curious study. Like the Latin races of Europe the people are impulsive, imaginative and impassionate; but they show an intense desire for the culture, knowledge and the mechanical appliances of the more favored races. They are as kindly, generous, large hearted, good mannered and as loyal and honest a people as one could hope for. They are especially friendly to the American people, and this is to be attributed to the fact that Americans have never tried to take advantage of them, but have unselfishly given to them every encouragement towards progress. It was the United States that opened up Japan to the commerce of the world, yet other nations have reaped the best of the harvest; which is due, in great measure, to the substantial support which other governments have given to their commercial marine.

MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.

HENRY E. RHOADES, U. S. N.



A PRISONER OF THE INDIANS

IN the muniment room of a Scottish Border family, the Rutherfords of Edgerston, the writer found an interesting old memoir written by John Rutherford, sometime major of his Majesty's Forty-second Regiment. It describes his captivity among the North American Indians in 1763, and it was more exciting than most chapters of Fenimore Cooper.

Rutherford was a member of an expedition sent by the commandant at Detroit in the spring of 1763 to test the navigability of the rivers and lakes in the neighborhood. The trip was regarded in the light of a pleasure jaunt, and no danger from the Indians was anticipated, as they had made protestations of friendship for the English in a council held a short time before.

Nevertheless, the attack came when it was least expected. As the little party swept round a narrow bend of the River Huron in their *bateau*, they found the bank crowded with redskins. The spot was well chosen. The rapid current of the narrowed river forced the boat close to the shore, and the Indians could walk faster than the whites could row. To return was impossible, as the canoes of the savages were ready for pursuit.

True to their usual tactics, they did not at first show their unfriendly intentions. Men, women, and children crowded down to the water's edge to greet the palefaces with every appearance of friendliness, calling them "brothers" and inviting them to come on shore. The squaws offered them maple sugar, fish, and other delicacies to induce them to land.

Meanwhile, the braves gradually filed off and posted themselves behind a small piece of rising ground, leaving only the squaws on the bank. Suddenly, without the slightest warning, they opened fire on the boat, wounding the commander in the first volley and killing him with a second shot as he was in the act of rallying his men.

Rutherford then seized the helm and tried to bring the boat round; but as some of the men were killed, others wounded, and none of the arms loaded or ready, no effective resistance could be made. In a few moments the Indians boarded the craft with wild war whoops and yells

of triumph. They had thrown off the blankets and ornaments they had worn when first sighted, disclosing their black and red war paint. As they numbered between two and three hundred, the capture of the small force in the *bateau* was soon effected. Each of the survivors was seized by the hair by a brave, for, according to the custom, he who first laid hold of a captive in this manner might claim him as a slave.

The dead men were immediately scalped. What happened to John Rutherford should be told in his own words:

“ My master (for such I was now to acknowledge him) dragged me out of the boat by the hair of the head into the water, which took me up to the neck, endangering my drowning; however, he brought me safe on shore, and with a rope adorned with trinkets (which they always carry about with them to bind their prisoners of war) bound me and delivered me over to his squaw, returning himself to plunder the boat.

“ When he returned with his share of the booty, he laid it on my back, and, marching through the village close by the bank, came to the hut where he lived. We had not been long there when a great many Indians came in, and got drunk upon spirit which they plundered from the boat, and as I knew in their cups they often killed one another, I again considered myself in as great danger as ever. One of them, dressed in my dead commander’s clothes, came in very drunk, and seeing me lie in the corner with my hands tied, set up a shout, calling me English dog, and made a stroke at me with his tomahawk, which must have killed me had not another Indian, more sober, and whom I afterwards found out to be the best of them, seized his arm, and prevented him, and then turned him out of the hut.

“ My master’s wife, seeing the danger to which I was exposed, and knowing that he or some other Indians might return, made me lie down behind her, and covered me over with skins and furs. Soon after, the same Indian did return, and demanded me of my master, saying that ‘ no English dog should be kept alive’—upon which he was turned out a second time, and well kicked. The whole night they kept drinking what liquor we had brought with us, and making a most hideous yelling, dancing, and singing while they were feeding on my poor commander’s body.”

The eating of the flesh of those who fell in warfare was not done in pure cannibalism, but with the idea that the prowess of the slain would thus be acquired. In his memoir, John Rutherford constantly refers to

this habit, which appears to have been prevalent only among some of the tribes. He tells us how his master's son brought him pieces of his commander's body roasted upon a stick, and urged him to eat them. This he only evaded by assuming a submission he did not feel, and while assuring his master that he would obey him in everything, even in this if he insisted, explained how very disagreeable it would be to him to dine off the remains of his dead friends.

The methods of the Indians was rigorous. On the first night, in order to prevent all chance of escape, he was forced to lie on his back, with his hands bound and one leg fastened in such a manner to impromptu stocks two feet from the ground that it was impossible for him to turn on his side.

His jealous master, not content with these precautions, drew the ends of the rope under his own body as he lay next to him, with his squaw, on a bearskin.

By degrees, however, the severity of these precautions was relaxed in part, doubtless owing to the tact and self-control shown by the young captive.

"I found it," he says, "absolutely necessary for my safety to affect to relish their savage manners, and put on an air of perfect contentment, which I had often heard was the way to gain the affection of the Indians, whereas, showing discontented conduct irritates them, and creates worse treatment, and even draws down death itself on the captive who is so unfortunate as not to be able to accommodate himself to his situation.

"Some few days after my capture, Peewash, my master, went off in his canoe to join a large encampment of warriors which had formed near Detroit, leaving me to the care of his father.

"This old man, anxious that the paleface should become a savage as soon as possible, stripped me of my clothing and gave me a blanket for my only garment. To complete my toilet, my head was shaved, leaving only a tuft of hair on the crown and two small locks in front, which, when plaited and interwoven with silver ornaments, hung down over my forehead. My face was painted a variety of colors. One good thing they did to me—I was presented with a tobacco pouch and pipe, and thus made my first acquaintance with the fragrant weed.

"Attired thus *en sauvage*, I soon gained the goodwill of my master

and his family. Gradually, I was allowed more liberty. My hands were unbound, and I was told off to assist the squaws in carrying wood, cooking, pounding grain, and other domestic duties. The sun burnt my back and shoulders, raising great blisters, and the palms of my hands became raw from the unaccustomed labor, but my master's wife merely laughed at my sufferings, telling me that I would soon become used to it, and my hands hard, like the rest.

"Owing to the indolence of the warriors, who would never stir out of their huts to hunt or fish unless compelled to do so by sheer necessity, the tribe was sometimes in great distress for want of provisions, even being reduced to the necessity of gathering acorns and boiling them for food. Being gently nurtured, I suffered from such diet, but to the Indians, who could square matters by a greater indulgence later on, when food was plentiful, such shifts were nothing. Anything served for a meal; a slaughtered camp dog provided a banquet. Nor were they fastidious as to their sleeping; every one in travelling carried his or her bedclothes—a coarse blanket or the skins of beasts—and at night men, women, and children lay down promiscuously in the hut, with their feet toward the fire in the centre."

The kindly feeling entertained toward young Rutherford by his master's family resulted before long in his being formally adopted as a son. He was told to look on the boys as his brothers, and his name was changed from "Sagarast," or Englishman, to "Addick," or White Elk. This admission into the family circle proved, however, but a barren honor, as far as exemption from drudgery was concerned. The uses he was put to were many and various. He helped his master to build a canoe, his mistress to plant a field of maize; he labored at the oar and paddle, pounded the family grain, and carried home the wood and bark with which to build new wigwams when the tribe changed its camping grounds.

"At the principal encampment of the tribes, about five miles from Detroit," Rutherford writes presently, "I had the great joy of encountering Capt. Campbell and Lieut. McDougall, who had come from the fort with overtures of peace, but not only were the overtures rejected, but the envoys were detained prisoners at a Frenchman's house. At this encampment my life was in daily, if not hourly, jeopardy, not from my master's tribesmen, but from the braves of rival factions. Scalps and fresh captives were constantly brought in, and tribal jealousies ran high.

"Amongst the new prisoners was one Ensign Pauli of the Sixtieth Regiment, who was in command of a small fort on Lake Erie. On June 6 Lieut. McDougall, aided by a Dutch trader, managed to escape, an incident which caused the still more rigorous treatment of the remaining prisoners, and ultimately the massacre of Capt. Campbell.

The actual perpetrators of this crime were the Chippewas (the tribe in which Rutherford was captive), and as Campbell had been captured by the Ottawas, this tribe naturally resented the infringement of their rights. To avenge the insult they planned to compass the death of Ensign Pauli, whom they considered an officer of somewhat higher rank, but he, warned of his danger by a squaw, succeeded in escaping.

"Foiled in this attempt, the Ottawahs then cast their eyes on me as a suitable substitute. My master, however, was anxious not to lose me. He smuggled me out of the camp and hid me in the barn of a Frenchman's house. For three hours I lay in the straw in momentary expectation of discovery and death, until, the immediate danger being over, my master returned with an armed party of followers and escorted me back to the encampment."

Shortly afterwards. Monsieur Quilleim, one of the French settlers, at young Rutherford's earnest entreaty, and out of pity for his deplorable condition, offered to purchase him from his master. The latter, after much haggling, agreed to this proposal, on condition that he should be allowed to select merchandise to the value of two hundred dollars. He also stipulated that the captive should always remain with the Frenchman, and never be allowed to return to his own countrymen. This harsh and unreasonable demand was perforce agreed to, but with the mental reservation to ignore it as soon as it was safe to do so. Rutherford says:

"I immediately cast away my greasy painted shirt, which I had worn for two months without ever having it washed. I scrubbed myself for two hours with soap and warm water to get the paint and grease off. Then, dressing myself in the costume of the Canadians, with a clean white shirt and long ruffles, and a mantle exactly like a bed gown, with a pair of new leggings, I began to feel pretty comfortable. The Frenchman with whom I was, being brother to the former commandant and a great favorite with the Indians—the latter had been rather civil to him in not killing all the stock, such as poultry, cattle, etc.—I got a good supper from him, genteelly served up, while a comfortable bed was provided for me, in

which I slept better than I had done for a long time before. I awoke next morning happy in the thought of being out of the hands of the savages and once more returned to freedom (as I imagined), never doubting that now I should have an opportunity of returning to the fort, or at least be quartered with so good a family until the war should cease.

“ But my joy, alas! was destined to be short lived. I had not been with Monsieur Quilleim twenty-four hours when a party of armed Indians entered the house and forcibly carried me off to the camp of Pontiac, the chief of the Ottawah tribe. Once more my doom seemed certain, but after some hours of suspense I was calmly informed that fear of my escape and not desire of my murder, was the motive of this recapture. During my sojourn with the chief Pontiac I was treated with great kindness, but the etiquette of the tribes necessitated my restoration to my former master, so that in a very few days I found myself back in the same position as that from which the Frenchman’s kindly intervention had temporarily rescued me.”

Fresh scenes of barbarity and horror were enacted daily in the encampment, and so terrible were the cruelties practised on the unhappy captives that Rutherford determined at all risks to attempt to escape once more. This he finally did by the aid of a Frenchman named Boileau. As the French were permitted to enter the fort at Detroit (a curious fact, considering that they were allies of the Indians and enemies of the English), Rutherford sent a letter to his friends by Boileau.

They promised to reward the Frenchman handsomely if he arranged an escape. Many and various were the schemes devised, but each was rejected in turn as impracticable. At length, in default of a better, a very simple expedient was resolved on. The risks were great, but those of remaining with the natives were even greater.

“ On the evening appointed,” Rutherford writes, “ Boileau was to embark in his canoe as usual, ostensibly to fish, but in reality to make his way to a place of rendezvous about two miles nearer to Fort Detroit, and wait there until, under cover of darkness, I could join him. Unfortunately, the night fixed upon turned out to be one of torrential rain, thunder, and lightning. There was, however, no withdrawing.

“ Towards midnight, when I guessed the family to be all asleep, I crept on all fours out of the wigwam. With no other clothing but a shirt, for I had not dared even to put on a pair of moccasins to save my feet,

I had to find my way through a dense wood, full of briars and thorns, to the appointed spot. Owing to the intense darkness of the night and the raging tempest, my progress was slow. Afraid of being surprised by daylight and passing Indians, I rubbed myself over with black moss and mire lest my white skin should betray me. At times I had to wade in water up to my chin. Was ever a poor lad in such a sorry plight?

"At last, to my unspeakable joy and relief, I came to the spot where the Frenchman awaited me, and together we succeeded in reaching a ship lying opposite Detroit an hour before daylight. Monsieur Boileau returned home immediately, fearing lest his absence should cause him to be suspected of aiding the escape. In the morning I went to the fort, where my friends welcomed me almost as one returned from the dead.

"I had nothing on but a greasy painted shirt, my face was painted red, black, and green, my hair cut all away, and my skin blacked all over with the moss I had put on. My legs were so lacerated with the briars and thorns, and so affected with the poisoned vines, that they were swollen as big as any in his Majesty's service. Besides this, to those who inspected me narrowly, my arms presented the appearance or impressions, one of a turkey's foot, the other of a flower in pink or purple dyes. I had thus been tattooed by the savages as a mark set upon me, as belonging to their tribe, and such is the indelible effect upon the part punctured that the impression will remain as fresh through life as on the first day of the operation."

After ten days' rest at the fort, young Rutherford went to Niagara and thence to New York, where he joined the Forty-second Regiment (the Black Watch). In that corps he served thirty years, during which time he was engaged in both American wars. He died at Jedburgh, Scotland, in 1830, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in the famous old abbey where his forefathers for generations have lain.

WILLIAM THORP.

Evening Post, N. Y.

BEN BOLT

[Among the autograph letters belonging to Gen. James Grant Wilson, and sold in New York recently, was a copy of this famous poem, with the following note, written and signed by the author: "The foregoing is a correct version. The three stanzas, as usually sung, are much mutilated."]

DON'T you remember sweet Alice, Ben Bolt—
Sweet Alice whose hair was so brown,
Who wept with delight when you gave her a smile,
And trembled with fear at your frown?
In the old church-yard in the valley, Ben Bolt,
In a corner obscure and alone,
They have fitted a slab of the granite so grey,
And Alice lies under the stone.

Under the hickory-tree, Ben Bolt,
Which stood at the foot of the hill
Together we've lain in the noonday shade,
And listened to Appleton's mill.
The mill-wheel has fallen to pieces, Ben Bolt,
The rafters have tumbled in,
And a quiet which crawls round the walls as you gaze
Has followed the olden din.

Do you mind of the cabin of logs, Ben Bolt,
At the edge of the pathless wood,
And the button-ball tree with its motley limbs,
Which nigh by the doorstep stood?
The cabin to ruin has gone, Ben Bolt,
The tree you would seek for in vain;
And where once the lords of the forest waved
Are grass and the golden grain.

And don't you remember the school, Ben Bolt,
With the master so cruel and grim,
And the shaded nook in the running brook
Where the children went to swim?
Grass grows on the master's grave, Ben Bolt,
The spring of the brook is dry,
And of all the boys who were schoolmates there
There are only you and I.

There is change in the things I loved, Ben Bolt,
They have changed from the old to the new;
But I feel in the deeps of my spirit the truth,
There never was change in you.
Twelve months twenty have past, Ben Bolt,
Since first we were friends—yet I hail
Your presence a blessing, your friendship a truth,
Ben Bolt of the salt sea gale.

THOMAS DUNN ENGLISH.

NEWARK, N. J.

ETHAN ALLEN'S USE OF LANGUAGE

WHAT I propose to say relates to the personality of Ethan Allen, —to the inquiry, What manner of man was he?

Ethan Allen took up his residence in the New Hampshire Grants in 1769. In 1775, six years after, he was taken prisoner by the British at Montreal. During those six years he had come so rapidly to the front as to be a most, if not the most prominent figure within the Grants. He made a mark across the history of Vermont during those six years so broad and deep as to be indelible. No man of common-place qualities could, in that troublous time, have sprung so rapidly into leadership among such a people. I am sure that if I could present to you in this assemblage a truthful portrait of his bodily form, your eyes would gaze upon it with intensest interest. But no portrait of him exists, and the statues of him which stand on his monument in Burlington and in the Capitol at Washington and in front of this building, do not claim to be presentations of Ethan Allen, but of an artist's idea of what Ethan Allen should have been, assisted by family resemblances and memory. Yet we know that these imaginings are at least so far correct in that they clothe him, as Bulwer says:

"With that vast bulk of chest and limb, assigned
So oft to men who subjugate their kind.
So sturdy Cromwell pushed broad-shouldered on;
So burly Luther breasted Babylon."

But without any "counterfeit presentment" of him on which we might gaze, seeking to trace in the strong lineaments the character of the spirit which animated them, we can learn something of what manner of man he was. For a man's body is not *the man*. When the breath of life was inbreathed, man became "a living soul." And, if you would know what is the living soul of a man, you must search for the thoughts and feelings by which he was animated. "As a man thinketh, so is he." And we can judge something of what a man is, not only by considering his thought, but by considering also the manner in which he expresses his thought. For, as Fenelon truly said: "A man's style is nearly as much a part of him as his physiognomy, or his figure, or the throbbing of his pulse." So let us consider for a little the thought of Ethan Allen, and the style in which he expressed his thought.

B. H. Hall, in his History of Eastern Vermont, has no better words to use in speaking of Allen's mode of expression, than "bombast," "effrontery," "boasting and rhodomontade." Even Williams in his History of Vermont, says he was "a very indifferent writer." Beckley, another historian of Vermont, says he was "without mental culture," and speaks of his "plain, unadorned style." And Zadock Thompson, in his History of Vermont, says that "Allen's pamphlets are unworthy of notice as literary productions."

But Washington wrote of him: "There is an original something about him that commands admiration." And Alexander Graydon, of Pennsylvania, in his admirable Memoirs of the Revolutionary Times, says of him: "I have seldom met a man possessed in my opinion of a stronger mind, or whose mode of expression was more vehement and oratorical. His style was a singular compound of local barbarisms, Scriptural phrases and oriental wildness; and though unclassic and sometimes ungrammatical, it was highly animated and forcible."

Let us consider, whether the words of Washington and Graydon, who knew the man, are not to be accepted rather than those of these later writers. Let us examine some of the words that Ethan Allen wrote and said, and consider not only the thought which they conveyed, but the style—the frame of words in which the thought was clothed. Perhaps we can see in them some of the qualities which were the ground of his accepted leadership.

His letters, the addresses, proclamations and other controversial papers which he wrote during the contest between Vermont and New York, his Narrative of his Captivity, and his theological work called "Reason, the only Oracle of Man," together with some traditional speeches, furnish us material in such abundance that selection is difficult.

We may concede that he was not a man of literary culture. He writes of himself, "I was deficient in education, and had to acquire the knowledge of grammar and language, as well as the art of reasoning, principally from a studious application to it." And he asks the reader of his Narrative to excuse any inaccuracies in the performance itself, "as the author has unfortunately missed a liberal education." The marks of this deficiency are frequent. He says: "In *them* laws, they have exhibited their genuine pictures." He writes in his letter to the Provincial Assembly of New York: "I wish to God America would at this

critical juncture exert herself, *agreeable* to the indignity offered her by a tyrannical ministry." He wrote "agreeable to" where he meant "in proportion to."

So, in describing the contest between New York and the people of the Grants, he says that Gov. Tryon gave orders to the militia to assist the Sheriff, "the inhabitants being thus drove to the extremity of either quitting their possessions or resisting the Sheriff and his posse. In this state of desperacy, they put on fortitude and chose the latter expedient."

But we care very little about Ethan Allen's blunders in grammar and language. They never were such as to affect in the least the clearness of his meaning, and, though he should have written "being driven" instead of "being drove," and though there is no such English word as "desperacy," the picture of the people reduced to desperation and "putting on fortitude," is none the less clear and distinct.

There is little doubt that this very lack of correctness and polish in his style was an element of his success among the people of the Grants, for they were not a highly educated people. They were pioneers in a wilderness where bears were a great deal more frequent than college graduates. In 1784 there were only nine of the latter in the whole State, outside of the ranks of the clergy. And this lack of education, which Ethan Allen laments, may very well have been a bond of sympathy between him and the people, who were themselves deficient in the same way. It may have made his leadership more easy.

Another element of his leadership which should be borne in mind, is that he was a man of truthfulness and honor. His word sought always to be a real expression of the man. And this inspired confidence. His berating in open court his lawyer—who, in a suit against him upon a note, had, for the sake of getting time, put in a denial of the making of the note—telling the lawyer that he would have no such plea put in, because he had made the note, and only wanted time in which to pay it, was a proof of devotion to truth such as it is rare to meet. And Alexander Graydon, who was with him as a prisoner to the British in New York, tells this story: Several American officers were prisoners there on parole, having, of course, the liberty to be at large on their promise not to escape. Some of them got into an altercation, which led to their being arrested by the provost-guard, and they were put in close confinement for three weeks and then let out. They were excessively angry at this treatment and sub-

mitted to a board of their fellow officers the question whether this was not such a violation of the agreement of parole that in consequence of it they would be justified in making their escape. Ethan Allen was one of the board, and his decision, which became the decision of the board, was the honorable one that the officers had had the right to escape from their *close confinement*, notwithstanding their parole; but that now the case was altered, and that, although no new parole had been given, yet the obligation of the former one should be considered as returning on their enlargement, and that they were under the same restraint in point of honor as they had been before their commitment. And so, when Ethan Allen in his *Narrative of his Captivity* wrote, "I have made truth my invariable guide, and stake my honor on the truth of the facts," it was no light statement, but one which carried confidence. And, in considering even his style and expression, we always should keep in view that foundation of truth and honor upon which his word rested.

He was a man familiar with the Scriptures, especially of the Old Testament, and his quotations from them or adaptations of their words were frequent, pertinent and forcible. He supplements his declaration of the determination of the people of the Grants to keep their lands until the controversy with New York should be decided by the King, by quoting from the message of Jephtha to the King of the Children of Ammon, "Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh thy God giveth thee to possess?" And he adds, "So will we possess that which the Lord our God (and King) giveth us to possess."

In his indignation against the land-jobbers of New York and their unrighteous efforts to deprive the men of the Grants of the lands which they had bought and paid for, he writes that those men, who were a "Jesuitical and cowardly junto of schemers, not inured to danger, hardship or the horrors of war, durst not fight for their own claim—*their* accustomed way of carrying points being to deceive, cheat and overreach the community of their species, under pretext of law, justice and good government." And then there came up before his mind the picture of the false prophet who made horns of iron to show King Ahab how he could push the Syrians to destruction, and he added: "These are their horns of iron, and with them do they push."

Another notable use of Scripture by him was in what may be called the notice of appeal from the judgment of the New York court in the first ejectment suit, in which that court had decided that New Hampshire

had no power to grant land west of the Connecticut. After that decision, Attorney General Kempe, in whose client's favor the judgment had been rendered, came to Allen, who had acted as the agent of the defendant in the case, and urged him to go home and advise the people to make the best terms with the New York land owners that they could, "because," as he said, "might often makes right."

Benton, in his excellent book called "Vermont Settlers and New York Land Speculators," says that that interview was at a public house; speaks of "the *bibulous refreshments*" which would be "naturally expected" on such an occasion, and says "Allen's reply seems very much to have the appearance of being more maudlin than heroic." I cannot agree with him. I do not believe that Ethan Allen, after a legal defeat, whose heavy results for the men of the Grants, if that defeat was accepted, he could not have failed to appreciate, was in any frame of mind which would have lent itself to a carouse, especially with the men who had brought about that very evil.

I have no doubt that his determination had already been made to appeal to arms against the unjust judgment. The inequalities between the parties there in Albany he could not but feel. The green hills of Bennington rose before his vision. Among them the position of the parties would be bravely altered. His familiarity with Scripture brought to his mind the advice of the servants of the King of Syria, after his defeat by the Children of Israel, "Their god is the god of the hills. Therefore, they were stronger than we. But let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they,"—and adapting that idea, he gave the King's Attorney notice of appeal from the judgment in the well-known sentence—too laconic, as it seems to me, to have anything *maudlin* about it: "The gods of the valleys are not the gods of the hills." The words are plain enough now, but were very enigmatical to the hearer, who possibly did not at the moment recall the Syrian episode, as he asked Allen what he meant, to which Allen only answered that, if he would come to Bennington, the meaning would be explained.

I can imagine how Kempe and his clients puzzled their brains to determine what their antagonist had meant, and how the mystery of those words clung to the memory, and, because of that very mystery, the fruit of their success seemed to have been suddenly shaken from the bough.

Allen seems to have resorted mainly to the Old Testament for his

use of Scripture. But there is one notable use of the New Testament, as you will remember, when the British officer came to him, while he was a prisoner in New York, trying to induce him to enter the British service, and saying to him that he would receive for his services a large tract of land in Vermont or Connecticut. Allen, refusing the proposition, likened that offer of land to the offer of Satan to the Saviour to give him all the kingdoms of the earth if he would fall down and worship him, when, as Allen said, "the damned soul had not one foot of land on earth." But this reference is not to any word of Christ, but to the word of Satan. I do not recall any reference to the use of any words of Christ in all his references to Scripture, outside of his "Reason the only Oracle of Man." The Old Testament history had more resemblance to the times in which he was living; and the language of the Old Testament furnished more appropriate expression for his stormy spirit.

There was a quaintness about Allen's use of words and figures of speech which often makes them very vivid.

When he was taken prisoner at Montreal he was brought before the English General Prescott. Allen's narrative tells us: "He asked me my name, which I told him. He then asked me whether I was that Col. Allen who took Ticonderoga. I told him I was the very man. Then he shook his cane over my head, calling me many hard names, among which he frequently used the word rebel. * * * I told him he would do well not to cane me, for I was not accustomed to it, and shook my fist at him, telling him that was the *beetle of mortality* for him if he offered to strike." The Englishman probably had seen enough logs split with a beetle and wedges, to recognize the appropriateness of the figure of a beetle as descriptive of Allen's heavy fist; and when it was described as a "beetle of mortality" he recognized that it was a weapon which he would do well not to meet.

The affidavit of Benjamin Hough, relating the visit of the Bennington Mob, as he called Allen and his men, to Durham, says that "Allen used many curses and imprecations on the people of New York, by the name of Yorkers, and said the day of judgment was come when every man should be judged according to his works;" and that, when Benjamin Spencer was brought before their judgment seat, Allen made charges against him, one of which was that he had been "cuddling with the New Yorkers."

The suggestive phrase, in which all unnamed terrors were wrapped up in one single word, when the Convention of the Vermonters ordered that all civil and military officers in the New Hampshire Grants who had acted under the authority of New York should suspend their functions "on pain of being *viewed*," and the well-known phrase describing the punishment of stripes, applied by the men of the Grants to those who persisted in acting under New York authority against them, as the application of the "Beech Seal," might very well have been the product of Allen's quaint mind. But, as far as I know, tradition is silent as to the authorship of both those phrases. It ascribes to Allen the authorship of another phrase to describe that punishment which is certainly very characteristic of him. He spoke of it as "castigating them with the twigs of the wilderness." There shows the fulness, the exuberance, of Allen's mind. The offender must not think that he was incurring so small a danger as that of being whipped. It was more solemn and serious than "whipping." It was "castigation," and that not with a simple rod, but with the "twigs of the wilderness," as if all the trees of the forest on all sides of the mountains and hills took part in the affair and aided in the punishment of the offender.

Allen used this expression in one of his pamphlets, and by adding to it one short phrase produced a powerful rhetorical effect. He says that the Green Mountain Boys prevailed against the land jobbers, "seized their magistrates and emissaries, and in fine, all those their abettors which dared to venture upon the contested lands, and chastised them with the whips of the wilderness, *the growth of the land which they coveted*."

That last fine phrase, by which he bound together the evil desire and the punishment for it, was characteristic of his mode of thought. His mind went below the surface of material things, and recognized their spiritual relations. The things which are unseen worked powerfully upon him, as well as the things that are seen. The essence of things was what he sought for, not the outward form only.

Law and Order and Government? Certainly men must maintain them. But, says he: "Coloring a crime with a specious pretence of law only adds to the criminality of it, for it subverts the very design of law, prostituting it to the vilest purposes."

So his thought was not narrow and petty. It traveled in large circles and naturally sought for principles. The contest which he and

the Green Mountain Boys were engaged in was not merely a question of so much property. It was a question of right and wrong, of justice and injustice. And, in such a contest, he felt that God was on their side—that God of whose divine nature, as he says, the characteristics are “eternal wisdom, unalterable rectitude, impartial justice and immense goodness.”

His sense of reliance upon the Divine Justice was a living one. When he wrote “as to the world of spirits, though I knew nothing of the mode and manner of it, I expected nevertheless, when I should arrive at such a world, that I should be as well treated as other gentlemen of my merit,” that was not any expression of such a self-conceit as made the French nobleman say, “I am sure that God will think twice before he will damn a person of my quality,” but an expression of his sense that in the next life as in this, he was in the hands of a Being who was no respecter of persons, who would render to every man according to his works, indeed, but who, being the Judge of all the earth, would surely do right.

This feeling of his that God is the ruler of the world appears sometimes very unexpectedly.

After Gov. Tryon had offered a reward of £150 for the capture of Allen, and £50 apiece for the capture of five other Green Mountain Boys, Allen and two others of them offered a counter reward of £15 for James Duane and £10 for John Kempe, Duane being one of the principal New York land claimants, and Kempe the Attorney General. And their offer of this reward has this preamble:

“Whereas, James Duane and John Kempe of New York have by their menaces and threats greatly disturbed the public peace and repose of the honest peasants of Bennington and the settlements to the Northward, which peasants are now and ever have been in the peace of God and the King,” therefore, etc.

Not merely peaceful peasants, not merely in the King’s peace, but, as you see, *in the peace of God and the King*, to disturb whose repose by menaces and threats was not only a wrong before the King, but before God himself.

So when he thundered at the door of Capt. Delaplace, and demanded the immediate surrender of Ticonderoga, and the Captain, appearing at

the door "with his breeches in his hand," stammered forth the inquiry by what authority he demanded it, it was not in his own name, it was not in the name of Vermont, or of the Massachusetts or Connecticut Committee of Safety, that he made the demand, but "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." With the same feeling which made Mrs. Howe write "For God is marching on"—with the same feeling which sounded forth in the mighty shout of the host of the Crusaders, "God wills it! God wills it," he made his demand, first of all, in the name of the Ruler of the Universe, whose officer he was and whose plans and purposes he was carrying into effect, and next in the name of the Government of the whole continent—of the Continental Congress. Such a demand, made by virtue of two such astonishing sources of authority, must have come upon the dazed spirit of Captain Delaplace much as a bucket of cold water would have come upon his person, as he stood there, "with his breeches in his hand;" and before he had time to recover his presence of mind, the surrender was an accomplished fact.

Ofttimes the use of single words by Allen brings out some strong characteristic of the man. It had been one of the obvious grounds of complaint by the Vermonters, that, if they ever considered whether they should not settle the controversy between them and the holders of New York grants by buying the New York title, they found that they could only do so by paying the value of the lands as enhanced by the labor which the Vermonters had themselves put upon them by clearing and cultivation.

In one case the situation was reversed. Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys visited Durham, where lands were actually held under New York grants, and compelled those settlers to promise to purchase a New Hampshire title for the lands which they already occupied. After they had left Durham, word was brought to Allen that holders of New Hampshire titles were trying to claim the same advanced price of those lands as the New York land jobbers had demanded for theirs. His sense of justice was outraged, and he wrote to the very men whom he had brought before the "judgment seat" and tried, on his visit to Durham, to say to them that he was "concerned for their welfair in this matter," for, said he, "It is my opinion that you in justice ought to have the title at a reasonable rate, as new lands were valued at the time you purchased." Therefore, said he, "On condition Col. Willard, or any other person demand an exorbitant price for your lands, we scorn it, and will assist you in mobbing such avaricious persons; for we mean to use force against

oppression, and that only. Be it in New York, Willard or any other person, it is injurious to the rights of the District."

Note how those three words of his, "we scorn it," show the fire which burned in his spirit against injustice and meanness, and against oppression wherever he met it.

I quote one other expression of his, which also brings out strongly that fire in his spirit which was ready to flare up at any time.

He had set on foot a proceeding to confiscate the property of his brother Levi for having adopted Tory principles, and for having, as he said, among other things, held treasonable correspondence with the enemy, and "exerted himself in the most falacious manner to injure the property and character of some of the most zealous friends to the independency of the United States, and of this State likewise." Thereupon Levi, in his opposition to the confiscation proceedings, sought to prove that there was personal hostility to him on Ethan's part, and he made affidavit that one of his acquaintances, meeting Ethan, had said to him that he had recently seen Levi, and that Ethan's answer was: "Seen Levi? Well! how was he? damn his lukewarm soul!" I have not the slightest doubt that Ethan's speech was correctly reported. It bears the hall-mark of the man. In a certain Quaker meeting, after long silence, one of the sisters arose and slowly said, "Spirits are nigher kin than flesh," and sat down again. Whatever were the ties of blood, no "lukewarm soul" could claim any relationship with the strenuous, fiery spirit of Ethan Allen.

Although Allen could be laconic on occasion, that was by no means the prominent characteristic of his writing. His style is abundant, overflowing, exuberant, in particulars, in adjectives, in epithets. When he is picturing the division of the ways before which the country stood at the opening of the Revolution, he says: "A vast continent must now sink to slavery, poverty, horror and bondage, or rise to unconquerable freedom, immense wealth, inexpressible felicity and immortal fame." It is not slavery alone which is before the country, but "slavery, poverty, horror and bondage." It is not only freedom which it may maintain, but "*unconquerable freedom, inexpressible felicity and immortal fame.*"

For a fine "derangement of epitaphs," (to quote Mrs. Malaprop) take this opening sentence from his narrative of the capture of Remember Baker by Sheriff Monro and his posse: "This wicked, inhuman, most

barbarous, infamous, cruel, villainous and thievish act was perpetrated, committed and carried into execution by one John Monro." In the same narrative he tells how Baker had burst a board off the gable of his house and leaped to the ground in an effort to escape; whereupon part of the ruffians, he says, "were ordered to set on him a large, spiteful, wilful and very malicious dog, educated and brought up agreeable to their own forms and customs, who, being, like those other servants of the devil, at that time all obedience, seized the said Baker."

For another broadside of epithet, take the onslaught which he makes upon the men who passed the New York Act of Outlawry in 1774 against him and his friends. And indeed that act was a monstrosity of legislation. It was worthy of Allen's words when he said it was "replete with malicious turpitude."

I pause a moment to make a suggestion, viz., that if any legislator shall have in mind a piece of legislation, past, present, or to come, for which he cherishes an especial hostility, if he can use Ethan Allen's phrase and characterize it as being "replete with malicious turpitude," he will find the phrase to be eminently satisfactory and exhaustive.

That Outlawry Act well deserved all the indignation which Allen poured out upon it and its makers. It provided first that if more than three of the Vermonters assembled and, being ordered to disperse, did not do so, they should be subject to twelve months' imprisonment. It also provided that Gov. Tryon might issue a proclamation ordering Ethan Allen and seven others, by name, to surrender themselves for commitment, and that, if any one of them did not do so within seventy days thereafter, he should be adjudged attainted of felony, and, without any trial whatever, should suffer death without benefit of clergy.

Now listen to Allen's views on the subject: "And inasmuch as the malignity of their disposition towards us hath flamed to an immeasurable and murderous degree, they have in their newfangled laws so calculated them as to correspond with the depravedness of their minds and morals; in them laws they have exhibited their genuine pictures. The emblems of their unsatisfiable, avaricious, inhuman, barbarous and blood-guiltiness of disposition is therein portraited in that transparent image of themselves which cannot fail to be a blot and an infamous reproach to them to posterity." It was no time for mild words. Men's passions were hot.

The indignation of just men was high. And doubtless many a man on the Grants, as he read this, was glad that there was one man with a gift of language equal to the requirements of the situation, and in his heart thanked Ethan Allen.

But Allen knew very well that mere hard words were not all that was needed, but that any one who should seek to execute that atrocious outlawry must understand that it would be a perilous undertaking, and he wrote: "These bloody lawgivers know we are necessitated to oppose their execution of law, where it points directly at our property, or give up the same. But there is one thing is matter of consolation to us, viz., that printed sentences of death will not kill us when we are at a distance; and if the executioners approach us, they will be as likely to fall victims to death as we. And that person or country of persons are cowards indeed, if they cannot as manfully fight for their liberty, property and life, as villains can do to deprive them thereof."

That sentence was quite suggestive of danger. But a mere suggestion was not sufficient. There must be no misunderstanding. And so he and the other outlawed men gave notice to "the magistrates, sheriffs, under-sheriffs, coroners and constables, that hold their posts of honor and profit under our bitter enemies," that if they presumed to apprehend the outlawed men "we are resolved to inflict immediate death on whomsoever may attempt the same." And he added: "If the governmental authority of New York would judge in their own case and insist upon killing us to take possession of our 'vineyards,' come on! We are ready for a game of scalping with them; for our martial spirits glow with bitter indignation and consummate fury to blast their infernal projections." Does any one say this is "rhodomontade," mere empty bluster? Such was not the feeling of those to whom those high-sounding words were addressed. They knew the man to be not a man of empty words alone, but of solid deeds. These words came from that mouth whose firm, determined jaw bit off the ten-penny nail. They were the expression of that spirit which British dungeons, chains and starvation could not shake. When the New York sympathizers in Brattleboro appealed to Gov. Clinton to take most speedy measures for their relief, "for otherwise," said they, "our persons and property must be at the disposal of Ethan Allen, which is more to be dreaded than death with all its terrors," they knew they were not in danger of dealing with an empty braggart, but with a man whose actions were commensurate with his words.

In the *Narrative of his Captivity*, Allen draws in terrible colors, and with terrible clearness the sufferings of the American prisoners in the British dungeons in New York. And, mentioning the names of those who were instrumental in perpetrating the cruelties under which those patriots perished, his blood boils, and he writes with a pen of fire. "Cunningham, their provost Marshal, and Keef, his deputy, were as great rascals as their army could boast of, except one Joshua Loring, an infamous tory, who was commissary of prisoners; nor can any of these be supposed to be equally criminal with Gen. Sir William Howe and his associates, who prescribed and directed the murders and cruelties which were by them perpetrated. This Loring is a monster!—There is not his like in human shape. He exhibits a smiling countenance, seems to wear a phiz of humanity, but has been instrumentally capable of the most consummate acts of wickedness, which were first projected by an abandoned British council clothed with the authority of a Howe, murdering pre-meditatedly, in cold blood, near or quite two thousand helpless prisoners, and that in the most clandestine, mean and shameful manner, at New York. He is the most mean-spirited, cowardly, deceitful and destructive animal in God's creation below; and legions of infernal devils, with all their tremendous horrors, are impatiently ready to receive Howe and him, with all their detestable accomplices, into the most exquisite agonies of the hottest region of hell fire."

Lieut. Col. Graham, who came to live in Rutland in 1785, in his letters says: "I have often heard Gen. Allen affirm that he should live again under the form of a large white horse." After reading this denunciation of Loring and Howe, it seems plain to me that, if Ethan Allen ever had such a belief, the figure which appeared before his vision was no old white nag jogging slowly along the sandy roads through the Pine Plains east of Burlington, or standing with drooping head and lazily flicking off the flies on some hot afternoon under a solitary tree upon a hillside pasture. The white horse in which the fiery spirit of Ethan Allen could appear, must have had in him something of that pale steed, upon which, ever since the vision of the Seer of Patmos, King Death has charged down through the ages upon the generations of the sons of men.

With a powerful physique, with a strong mind, with truth, generosity and honor, with boldness and courage, with a vehement, forcible and oratorical mode of expressing his thoughts; with an original something in him which commanded admiration, with a clearness of perception

which saw that the independence of the State was the sole solution of the conflicting claims to the territory of the State, and would see nothing else; and with an enthusiasm in the cause of the independence of Vermont which made him declare that rather than fail in it he "would retire to the desolate caverns of the mountains and make war upon human nature at large,"—with such characteristics, what wonder that he became a leader of men? What wonder that, though he was born in Connecticut and spent three-fifths of his life in the "Land of Steady Habits," no one thinks of him in connection with any State but Vermont? What wonder that the seventeen years which he spent within her borders so thoroughly identified him with her, that if you would bring up before the mind's eye of her sons anywhere a vision of the peaks of the Green Mountains, of the hills and valleys between the swift flowing river on the east and the beautiful lake on the west, and of the people who dwelt upon those hill-sides and in those valleys—that "most active and rebellious race on the continent" which "hung like a gathering storm" upon Gen. Burgoyne's left flank, all that is necessary to evoke that vision is to name the name of Ethan Allen.

ROBERT DEWEY BENEDICT.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

[Read before the Vt. Hist. Soc'y.]



HENRY ("HAIR-BUYER") HAMILTON

THERE were two letters in the January MAGAZINE, written to Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit, and an explanatory note from Mr. Wm. C. Lane, of Harvard, stating that Gov. Hamilton's journal was in Harvard Library and would be printed in book form.

I am sure that the printed journal will receive a hearty welcome from the Western libraries and students of western history.

The circumstances under which Hamilton left Detroit and his subsequent capture by General Clark may not be familiar to all the readers of the MAGAZINE, and a few words on the subject may not lack interest at this time.

Guy Carleton (afterwards Lord Dorchester) as governor of the province of Quebec received his instructions, dated Jan. 3, 1775, containing the following provisions: "There shall be an inferior court of criminal and civil jurisdiction in each of the districts of the Illinois, St. Vincenue, Detroit, Missilimackinac and Gaspée, by the name of the court of Kings Bench for such district, to be held at such times as shall be thought most convenient, with authority to hear and determine in all matters of a criminal nature, according to the laws of England, and the laws of the province hereafter to be made, and passed, and in all civil matters according to the rules prescribed by the 'act of Parliament for making more effectual provision for the government and Quebec in North America.' Each of said courts shall consist of one judge, being a natural-born subject of Great Britain, Ireland, or our other plantations, and of one other person, being a Canadian, by the name of assistant or assessor, to give advice to the judge in any matter when it may be necessary, but to have no authority or power to arrest, or issue any process or to vote in any order, judgment or decree; the said judges shall have the same power and authority in criminal cases as is vested in the chief justice of the province and also the same power and authority in civil cases as any other judge of Common Pleas within the province, excepting only that in cases of treason, murder, or other capital felonies the said judge shall have no other authority than that of arrest and commitment to the gaols

of Quebec, or of Montreal where alone offenders in such cases shall be tried before the chief justice.¹

A Lieutenant-Governor was also provided for, at the same time,² for Postes St. Vincenne, Detroit, Missilimackinac, and Gaspée. The lieutenant-governors appointed in pursuance of the above ordinance, were Edward Abbott for Vincennes, Patrick Sinclair for Mackinac and Henry Hamilton for Detroit.

Some time previous to this date there were two justices of the peace in Detroit, Philip Dejean and Gabriel Le Grand. They had officiated for some years in the capacity of justices, for the collection of small debts, but no affairs of great importance came before them. Legrand does not appear to have had much to do, though we occasionally find a deed, mortgage or marriage contract drawn up by him. On the other hand Dejean was a man of considerable importance. He was the keeper of the public records and apparently his entire time was occupied with his office. He understood his importance, and his lofty bearing in consequence, was of such a nature as to antagonize many of the citizens of Detroit.

Neither of the justices filled the requirements of the ordinance under which they were appointed, for they were both foreigners of French descent.

Dejean was a native of Toulouse, France.³ So far as the records show, he had been a merchant in Montreal, and having failed in business he went to the west to better his fortune and made his home in Detroit for some years.⁴ During this period his services were in such demand that he soon came to be looked upon as a man of importance, and he let pass no opportunity to impress the new governor with his ability and authority.

¹ Tracts on the Government of Canada No. 6, Sec. 15,

² Id. Sec. 56.

³ He was the son of Philip Dejean who was counsellor of the King's presidial and seneschal's court (an inferior court) and of Jeanne Bogue de Cerberie, his wife. Philip (Jr.) was twice married; his first wife was Marie Louise Angier, by whom he had one son Philip. His second wife was Theodiste St. Cosme, daughter of Pierre St. Cosme and his wife Catherine Barrois, of Detroit.

⁴ It appears by a letter in Mass. His. Soc. Pro. 1874, p. 237 that Dejean was a personal friend of Lafayette and that he had been 32 years in Canada, 18 of which were spent in Detroit.

On various occasions he rendered important service to Hamilton and, in return Hamilton countenanced all of his judicial acts, whether right or wrong. Hamilton was an inferior military officer, and as a civil officer he had no control over the military department.

Dejean, as a justice of the peace, had no duties in criminal cases, other than to arrest and detain the criminal and send him to Montreal for trial.

There were so many lawless characters in the frontier village that the people would, sometimes, have taken affairs into their own hands and mob rule would have followed, if such a person as Dejean had not interfered, even with his limited authority, and carried out the wishes of the populace under a semblance of legal authority.

In 1775 a man named Eller was arrested on a charge of murdering his brother-in-law, Charles Moran. The accused was brought before the justice, Dejean, tried for the crime, convicted and sentenced to be hung, and, as the subsequent indictment of Dejean reads, "Eller was then and there at Detroit aforesaid, in or about the month of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, killed, murdered and executed."⁵

In February of the following year a Frenchman named Jean Constantineau and a negro woman named Ann (or Nancy) Wiley, were accused of attempting to rob the storehouse of Abbott & Finchley, and of setting fire to the building. In the testimony that was subsequently taken it appears that the parties were only after a very small amount of plunder—some six dollars in money; a pair of shoes, some handkerchiefs and other small articles.

The public feeling ran very high against the accused and when they were brought before Dejean, they were tried by him, possibly with a jury, certainly with the approbation of Hamilton. They were convicted of robbery and arson and both were condemned to be executed by hanging.

Before the time of the hanging had arrived the public wrath had subsided and the good sense of the people had so far returned that they saw the illegality of the trial and condemnation. No one in the village was willing to act as executioner. In this situation Dejean made a proposition to Nancy that he would pardon her if she would act as executioner

⁵ He came to Detroit as early as 1767. Indictment of Grand Jury—MSS. Barton Library

on the Frenchman. The offer was promptly accepted and Constantineau was "hanged by a cord on his neck then and there fastened and until he was dead."

There were other charges of lesser importance brought against Dejean than the murder of these two persons, and the affairs were all brought to the attention of the Grand Jury at Montreal, and Dejean was indicted on the 8th of September, 1778. The foreman of the Grand Jury on the occasion was James McGill, after whom McGill University in Montreal was subsequently named.

At the same time the same Grand Jury sent to the court another presentment, reading as follows:

"WHEREAS, By certain testimonies and evidence to them offered, it hath appeared that one Philip Dejean, of Detroit, in the district aforesaid (Montreal), hath at divers times during the years of our Lord 1775, 1776 and 1777, at Detroit, aforesaid, in and under the government and command of Henry Hamilton Esq. the Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit, aforesaid, acted and transacted divers unjust and illegal, tyrannical and felonious acts, and things contrary to good government and to the safety of his majesty's liege subjects. The jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, are bounden to present further to this Honourable Court that it may be Stated and represented to his Excellency, His Majesty's Governor-in-chief in and over the Province, that the said Henry Hamilton hath not only remained at Detroit, aforesaid, and been witness to the several illegal acts and doings of him, the said Philip Dejean, but has tolerated, suffered and permitted the same under his government, guidance and direction and as commission as proven upon oath before this inquest, hath authorized the said illegal acts and doings of the said Philip Dejean. Wherefore the jurors aforesaid present that the said Henry Hamilton be charged, heard and adjudged of the said acts and doings by him, the said Henry Hamilton, done in the premises contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity, and further dealt with as to law and justice shall pertain."

Hamilton was aware that he had acted in an illegal manner in assisting Dejean and in countenancing his judicial actions. In a letter to Carleton, on this subject, he says, "I am obliged to act as judge, and in

several places as executor of justice. There is no executioner or gaoler, nor is a gaol yet built, tho' greatly wanted. Mr. Dejean, who has been justice of the peace here a long time, is indefatigable, but he, as well as myself, requires to be better informed and better supported. I show him all the countenance I am able, but till my own authority is on a proper foundation, it can serve him but little." Hamilton was aware of the feeling against him in Detroit and undertook to divert attention from himself and his misdemeanors by leading a force from the garrison to capture Fort Pitt. Haldimand, who had succeeded Carleton, refused to grant permission to Hamilton to attack this place and the latter set about another plan for leaving Detroit, as the place was getting too hot for him. As stated above, Hamilton had no military authority whatever and if any force was to be led against the American Settlements, it should have been directed by the military department. Hamilton, however, was not thus to be prevented from leaving Detroit. He made preparations for an attack on Vincennes, which had but recently fallen under the control of General George Rogers Clarke. The military storehouse and the farms in the neighborhood of Detroit were stripped of everything available and useful for Hamilton's small army, and he set out from Detroit about the 29th day of September, 1778, to capture Vincennes. He did not notify Haldimand of his intended departure until it was too late for the latter to prevent it.

It is unnecessary to relate the result of Hamilton's attack on Vincennes, its capture by him and its recapture shortly after by General Clarke, the imprisonment of Hamilton—"the Hair-buyer general"—at Williamsburg, and his subsequent exchange as a prisoner of war.

The indictments against Hamilton and Dejean were, in course of time, forwarded to Lord George Germain and the comments made by him on the subject, are included in his letter to Haldimand of April 16, 1779, as follows:

"The presentments of the Grand jury of Montreal against Lieut.-Governor Hamilton and Mr Dejean are expressive of a greater degree of jealousy than the transactions complained of, in the circumstances of the Province, appear to warrant.

"Such stretches of authority are, however, only to be excused by unavoidable necessity, and the justness and fitness of the occasion, and you will therefore direct the chief justice to examine the proofs

produced of the criminal's guilt, and if he shall be of opinion that he merits the punishment he met with, tho' irregularly inflicted, it is the King's pleasure that you do order the Attorney General to grant a *noli prosque* (*sic*), and stop all further proceedings in the matter."⁵

This, of course, ended all proceedings against the lieutenant-governor and justice.

It is probable that the popular feeling against Hamilton is too strongly portrayed in "Alice of Old Vincennes," for the British Government honored him with places of importance after the war was ended. He was appointed lieutenant-governor of Canada in 1785, though he did not perform his duties to the satisfaction of his superiors, and was soon removed.⁶ He was subsequently governor of Bermuda, and its capital was named after him.

⁵ MSS. Burton Library

⁶ Kingsford's Canada VII. 237.

DETROIT.

C. M. BURTON.



THE BATTLE OF GOLDEN HILL

IN Dr. Emmet's admirable and well digested "Some Popular Myths of American History" (in February MAGAZINE) I think he is wrong in saying "It has certainly never been pointed out that the 'Battle of Golden Hill,' in contradistinction to the 'Boston Massacre' was the beginning of the struggle."

Now, if he were familiar with my father's "Life of Brant" (published long before Miss Booth's "History of New York City") he would read this extract; after a description of the causes which led up to this fight (given in great detail) my father writes:

"It has usually been asserted by historians, that the first blood in the war of the American Revolution was shed at Lexington; but such is not the fact. THE BATTLE OF GOLDEN HILL, on the 18th of January, 1770, was the beginning of that contest, so fearful in its commencement, so doubtful in its progress, and so splendid in its results. The storm had now been gathering for several years, and the public mind had become exceedingly feverish, not only in respect to the conduct of the Parent Government, but in regard to the language and bearing of the officers of the Crown stationed in the Colonies. The destruction of the Liberty-Pole increased the mutual exasperation; and the fight that followed was but the natural consequence. To the CITY OF NEW YORK, therefore, must ever be given the honor of *striking the first blow*. The town was thrown into commotion, the bells rang, and the news, with the exaggerations and embellishments incident to all occasions of alarm, spread through the country with the rapidity of lightning. Everywhere throughout the wide extent of the old Thirteen Colonies it created a strong sensation, and was received with a degree of indignant emotion which very clearly foretold that blood had only begun flowing. The massacre in King Street, two months later, added intensity to the flame; and, although five years intervened before the demonstration at Lexington, there were too many nervous pens and eloquent tongues in exercise to allow these feelings to subside, or the noble spirit of liberty that had been awakened to be quenched. Such stirring orations as those of Joseph Warren were not uttered in vain; and often were the people reminded by him, or by his compatriots of kindred spirit—'The voice of your brethren's blood cries to you from the ground!' The admonition had its effect; and the resolutions of vengeance sank deeper and deeper, until the fullness of time should come!"

Dr. Emmet, also, could have noticed that I reproduce the above in my "History of New York City."

MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.

WILLIAM L. STONE.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF WASHINGTON TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, ON EDUCATION

[This letter was owned by the late Bishop Hurst, of the M. E. Church, and formed part of his collection, which was sold in New York lately. For permission to use it, we are indebted to the Anderson Auction Co.]

PHILADELPHIA. 16th. March, 1795

SIR,

Ever since the General Assembly of Virginia were pleased to submit to my disposal fifty shares in the Potomack, and one hundred in the James River company, it has been my anxious desire to appropriate them to an object, most worthy of public regard.

It is with indescribable regret, that I have seen the youth of the United States migrating to foreign countries, in order to acquire the higher branches of erudition, and to obtain a knowledge of the sciences. Altho' it would be injustice to many, to pronounce the certainty of their imbibing maxims, not congenial with republicanism; it must nevertheless be admitted that a serious danger is encountered by sending abroad among other political systems those, who have not well learned the value of their own.

The time is therefore come, when a plan of universal education ought to be adopted in the United States. Not only do the exigencies of public and private life demand it; but if it should ever be apprehended that prejudices would be entertained in one part of the Union against another; an efficacious remedy will be, to assemble the youth of every part under such circumstances, as will by the freedom of intercourse and collision of sentiment, give to their minds, the direction of truth, philanthropy, and mutual conciliation.

It has been represented, that an University, corresponding with these ideas, is contemplated to be built in the federal city; and that it will receive considerable endowments. This position is so eligible from its centrality —so convenient to Virginia, by whose legislature the shares were granted, and in which part of the federal district stands—and combines so many other conveniences, that I have determined to vest the Potomack shares in that University. Presuming it to be more agreeable to the General

Assembly of Virginia that the shares in the James River company should be reserved for a similar object in some part of that State, I intend to allot them for a Seminary, to be erected at such place, as the wisdom of the Legislature shall deem most proper.

I am disposed to believe, that a seminary of learning upon an enlarged plan, but yet not coming up to the full idea of an University, is an institution to be preferred for the position which is to be chosen. The students, who wish to pursue the whole range of Science, may pass with advantage from the Seminary to the University; and the former, by a due relation, may be rendered co-operative with the latter.

I cannot, however, dissemble my opinion, that if all the shares were conferred on an University, it would become far more important, than when they are divided; and I have been restrained from concentering them in the same place, merely by my anxiety to reconcile a particular attention to Virginia, with a great good, in which she will abundantly share, in common with the rest of the United States.

I must beg the favor of your Excellency to lay this letter before that honorable body, at their next session; in order that I may appropriate the James River shares to the place which they may prefer. They will at the same time again accept my acknowledgments for the opportunity with which they have favored me, of attempting to supply so important a desideratum in the United States as an University, adequate to our necessity, and a preparatory Seminary.

With great consideration & respect, I am, Sir,

Y'r most obed't Humble Ser't

G^o WASHINGTON.



LETTER FROM COLONEL CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY TO ——

[Describes the guards, hospitals, etc., of his men, and some of their hardships.]

CAMP AT PURYSBURGH (S. C.)

March 26, 1779

DEAR SIR,

I may without any powers of divination conjecture that you would be glad to know how we place our Guards and Picquets in order to secure our Camp.

At Zubly's I have—1 Subaltern, 1 serj't 2 Corp's & 18 Priv.

At Hardstone's—1 Corp. & 6 Priv

In the Swamp—1 Serj't 1 Corp & 12 Priv.

For A Quarter Guard, placed where the Park of Artillery used to be, 1 Serj't, 1 Corp'l & 15 Priv

For an Advanced Guard or rear Guard, call it which you please, placed where Horry's Light Horse were encamped, 1 Corp'l & 6 Priv

All the above Guards are relieved every morning at Troop beating.

Besides these Guards I have a Picquet placed down the Road on this side of Cole's consisting of 1 Subaltern, 1 Serj't 1 Corp'l & 15 Privates

Another Picquet up Bullock's road, consisting of 1 Corporal & 6 Privates

These are placed every Evening at retreat beating & come in half an hour after Sunrise

A Guard Boat is constantly kept out all night & part of the day. A Captain of the day superintends all the Guards & Picquets & is assisted by one Light Horseman, another Light Horseman attends at Zubly's. There are but six light Horse returned as fit for duty, so that you will observe I keep one third of all my cavalry on duty at a time. There has been a great mistake made in my Numbers, The North Carolinians not having had left with them above 120 Privates & the South Carolinians not the number they ought to have had—as soon as the Guards come in from Zubly's & Hardstone's I shall have an accurate return made me, & will transmit it to you.

A Guard Boat sent down by Captn Milligan to reconnoitre, I believe has been fired on, as I heard a Cannon from the Galley's a short time ago. I have been very much plagued with the Sick & wounded—I having had 32 left upon my hands without wine, sugar or any necessaries for them, & only one Waggon without Horses to transport them from hence. I wrote to Dr. Fayssoux on the subject & he has ordered up the only Two Waggons he has & has come here himself in order to do what is necessary with them. He has received no orders yet about removing the Gen'l Hospital & has between thirty & forty sick People in the fixed Hospital, which I don't imagine will be easily removed with the Medicines & Necessaries without great assistance in the Waggon way.

The Boat is just returned & reports she was fired upon by a swivel or two pounder just below Patton's—Lights were seen in the House all last night—and in the swamp a little below it the People in our Guard Boat saw some of the Enemy's Soldiers to day.

I remain

Y'r affectionate hble Servt

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY



LETTER FROM GENERAL ATKINSON TO COLONEL HAMILTON

[General Henry Atkinson defeated the Indians at the battle of Bad Axe, Wis., 1832. Fort Atkinson, Nebraska, is named for him. He was born in N. C., in 1782, became Brigadier General in 1821, and died in 1842. Colonel W. S. Hamilton, U. S. A., Lieut. Col. Rifles, resigned in 1817. The letter is characteristic of the "Old Army" and shows the then geographical distribution of Indian tribes, some now extinct.]

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Dec. 21, 1825.

MY DEAR COLONEL:

I had the pleasure a short time since, to receive your friendly letter of the 2nd. Sept., written at the Bay of St. Louis.

I will not attempt to describe the pleasure and the gratitude I feel impressed with by your kind remembrances and more kindly sentiments.

Let it suffice for me to say that I reciprocate them fully—Yes, as fully and as freely as you could wish in the heart of your old friend and Capt. I have, as you mention, for several years been called from point to point in discharge of various duties assigned me on the frontier, at St. Louis & at this place, rendering my services more active than has fallen to the lot of almost any other officer, and of course more agreeable, and I have the consolation to believe that I enjoy the confidence of government & the esteem & respect of the officers under me—And what is not least, your approbation—These things I would say only to a friend because they would otherwise savor of egotism, which in me God forbid, but they are reflections that gratify me when I think upon them and when I converse with friends like you.

The duties I performed last Summer were both pleasing to me and of importance. In May, 1825,¹ Congress authorized the President to appoint commissioners to hold treaties of Trade & friendship with the Indian Tribes "beyond the Mississippi" and to employ a Military escort to accompany them. \$10,000 was appropriated to defray the expenses of transportation, and \$10,000 for expenses incident to holding treaties with & for presents to the Indians.—Major O'Fallon and myself were appointed to fill the commission, and I was directed to select the troops to compose the escort & to decide upon its strength. The act passed too late in 1825¹ to afford time to perform the duties in that season.—I however provided transportation & provisions & concentrated the escort, consisting

¹ Obviously an error for 1824.

of 500 men, at Council Bluffs that fall, and early in May, of the present year, moved with this force from Council Bluffs & proceeded up the Missouri river to a point 120 miles above the mouth of Yellow Stone river. On our ascent of the river we held councils and made treaties with twelve Tribes and on our return to the Bluffs, with five other Tribes.

Those above the Bluffs were the:

Poncans, 180 warriors; Yanktons, 600 warriors; Yantonais, 800 warriors; Tetons, 600 warriors; Siones, 800 warriors; Ogallalas, 300 warriors; Hunkpapas, 300 warriors; Chyennes, 600 warriors; Aricaras, 500 warriors; Mandans, 250 warriors; Minatarees 250 warriors,—and Crows, 800 warriors.

South of Council Bluffs:

Otoes, 300 warriors; Grand Pawnees. 1100 warriors; Pawnee Loups, 700 warriors; Pawnee Republics, 300 warriors;—and Mahas, 500 warriors.

These tribes comprise all the Indians from Council Bluffs up to the Rocky Mountains that reside on the Missouri or ever visit it, except the Blackfeet Indians & the Assiniboins—the first of these reside at the foot of the Mountains on the head waters of the Missouri, too distant for us to have reached them.—We could easily have reached the falls of the Missouri, but then they would have yet been 700 miles above us. The Assiniboins reside on the head waters of Milk river, a branch of the Missouri. The Blackfeet, who are broken into many tribes, are estimated at 5000 warriors, & the Assiniboins at 2000.

We performed our trip with great facility and ease owing partly to the manner our transports were propelled, that is by wheels, and it is remarkable that a body of more than 550 men should have encountered the dangerous navigation of the Missouri, ordinary casualties, &c. without losing on the whole voyage a single soul, or meeting with any accident to our transports.

On my return to St. Louis on the 19th. Oct., after a detention of two weeks there, I proceeded to this place with a view of prosecuting my journey to Washington City. I had felt a great desire for some time to visit that place & then spend a few months among my friends in No. Carolina, but on my arrival I was detained in command of this dept., &

Gen'l Scott departed for N. York—and here I must remain, I suppose, till relieved by Gen'l Gaines, who is expected out in a month or less; and then, for crossing the mountains. I don't know what I can say that would interest you about our army affairs.

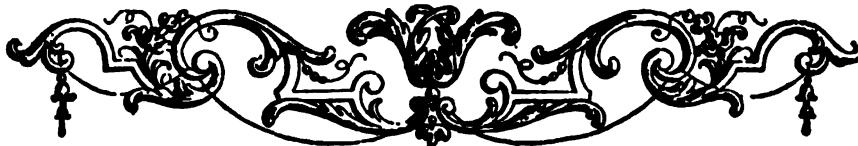
Bissell has gone to Washington with a full hope of being bro't in to fill the yet vacant Colonelcy in one of the Artillery Regts. It is thought, however, he will fail. Genls Scott & Gaines are quarreling about their rank, and some serious notes have passed between them.— how they will settle the dispute I am unable to say, as to their rank, if there should be a doubt, a board of officers should be conven'd to settle it. Clinch,¹ our mutual friend, is and always will do well. He has a well-poised mind and a good judgment. I am afraid the habits of C— will ruin him, poor fellow I mourn over his unhappy propensities Morgan is doing well, his habits are good—& he has a fine intellect and a noble soul. * * * * I feel a determination to avail myself of those gifts Heaven has provided for us—I am strengthened with a hope of success from the circumstances of enjoying the best of constitutions. * * *

Let us, as you propose, write quarterly to each other, without awaiting answers. I beg of you to present me kindly to Mrs. Hamilton, & speak of me to your little boys.

Yours aff'y & sincerely,

H. ATKINSON

¹This was probably Gen. Duncan S. Clinch, for whom Fort Clinch, Fla., was named. His daughter (d. 1905), married Major Robert Anderson, of Fort Sumter fame.



THE DORCHESTER MONUMENT

OUR frontispiece shows the most original monument of all erected to commemorate events of the Revolution—we might almost say any event in our history.

Instead of the more or less conventional shaft, or obelisk, the designer has given us a monument representing an object at once familiar, appropriate, and yet one destined to ultimately become unknown—the orthodox white tower and steeple of a New England church. It stands on Dorchester Heights where were erected Washington's batteries, and is inscribed:

*On These Heights
During the Night of March 4, 1776
The American Troops Besieging Boston
Built Two Redoubts
which made the harbor and town
untenable by the British fleet and garrison.
On March 17 the British Fleet
Carrying 11,000 Effective Men
And 1,000 Refugees
Dropped down to Nantasket Roads,
And thenceforth
Boston Was Free.
A Strong British Force
Had been Expelled
From one of the United American Colonies*

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Committee on Program, consisting of Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Prof. Sherman Williams and Frederick B. Richards, have selected "Sullivan's Campaign" for the subject of the symposium for the next ensuing meeting of the Association. At least five papers will be presented related to this general subject.

NOTES AND QUERIES

It is stated in a sketch of Gen'l Rufus Putnam that "while with the army at White Plains, he reconnoitered the country about Fredericksburgh, Quaker Hill, etc., making plans and sketches for the use of the Commander-in-Chief."

From Gen'l Putnam's papers: "I remained at West Point until sometime in June, when I joined the Army under General Gates, near Peekskill, this Army formed a junction with the Grand Army at White Plains the 23rd or 24th of July. While at White Plains I did no extra duty, except by the order of the Commander-in-Chief. I explored the country about Fredericksburgh, Quaker Hill, &c., &c."

Washington writing him from Headquarters under date of Oct. 9th, 1778, stated "I have this day perused your report to Gen'l McDougal, &c." Can anyone give information whether the plans and sketches made by Gen'l Putnam are in existence, and if they are, their location?

The report made by Gen'l Putnam—is it extant and if so where?

Col. Richard Varick, who was recording Secretary to Washington—can anyone say whether he had any military papers or other manuscripts whether in the form of journals or diaries, and where can such papers be found? Any data referring to him—and particularly to the year 1778—would be very interesting and useful to the inquirer.

Re. Dr. John Cochran who was Chief Physician and Surgeon Gen'l of the Army—during the Revolution. The late Gen'l John Cochrane—in a paper printed in the Magazine of American History, Sept. 1884, stated "The documents handed down to us—his entries, memorandums and letters—partake of the authority of an official record."

(The article was based upon a letter book in the possession of Gen'l Cochrane).

Washington's order Oct. 20th, 1778, Headquarters at Fredericksburgh, was. "Doctor Cochran during the absence of Doctor Burnett is to do the duty of Physician and Surgeon Gen'l in the Army of the Eastern Department."

Can anyone state who has the papers of Dr. Cochran—and if so do any of them contain any data of the Fredericksburgh locality?

LEWIS S. PATRICK.
Marinette, Wis.

DENTON—Can any reader explain the alleged similarity of the coats armorial of a branch of the Denton family, in England, and of the ancestors of George Washington? Cf. *Notes and Queries* (London) tenth series, 2:417. Mr. W. B. Denton, 914 Cass Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, has long been engaged in the collection of material concerning Denton genealogy.

GENEALOGICAL

All communications for this department (including genealogical publications for review) should be sent to William Prescott Greenlaw, address: Commonwealth Hotel, Bowdoin St., Boston, Mass.

[A limited number of queries will be inserted for subscribers free; to all others a charge of one cent per word (payable in stamps) will be made.]

11. a. BARTLET—William Bartlet, son of Edmund and Hannah (Hall) Bartlet, b. Jan. 31, 1748, at Newbury, Mass., d. Feb. 1841; married widow Betty (Coombs) Luscomb. When and where? B. 3.

11. b. BROWN—Deacon John, of Heath, Mass. I would like to learn the name of his wife. Her son was Rev. Lowell Smith, missionary to the Sandwich Islands in 1828. H. E. H.

12. a. CUNNINGHAM—Wanted, parentage of John Cunningham or Kinningham of Watertown, whose daughter Esther m. 1720, Abraham Gale. S. 4.

13. a. DAY—Wanted, parentage of Hannah Day of Manchester, Mass., who m. Nov. 19, 1719, Josiah Sanford or Stanford of Gloucester. G. 1.

b. DUMONT—I have previously suggested the possible Norman origin of all the French, Flemish and German families of Dumont. Can any one throw light upon this point? Cf. *New York Geneal. and Biog. Record*, 34:191.

c. FAIRFIELD—This English surname is said to be derived from the French Beauchamp, of which it is indeed a translation, but can any evidence be produced of actual flight of a French Huguenot named Beauchamp, to England, and the subsequent transformation of his name into Fairfield? Can ancestry be given

of one David Fairfield of Woodstock, Connecticut, who, just before 1800, married Hannah Thurber of Providence, R. I.? Cf. *N. Y. Geneal. and Biog. Record*, 29:102.

d. GUEST—Some interesting remarks on the origin of this surname appeared in the London *Notes and Queries*, ninth series, 10:51. Can the ancestry of one Henry Guest (fl. 1776) of New Brunswick, N. J., and of his wife whose maiden name was "Foreman" (Forman, Furman?) be proved? Cf. *N. Y. Geneal. and Biog. Record*, 29:100.

e. HALLEY—Are any of your readers interested in the history of the English family surnamed Halley? Can the origin of that surname be supplied? Cf. *London Notes and Queries*, ninth series, 11:366.

f. LYON—Can the reputed descent of General Nathaniel Lyon from him who is generally known as "the first William Lyon of Roxbury, Mass.," be satisfactorily and definitely proved? Dr. A. B. Lyons, 72 Brainard Street, Detroit, Michigan, is about to send to press a "General History of the Lyon families of New England," in the compilation of which the writer has collaborated.

h. PIKE—Has any serious attempt ever been made to establish the lineage of the famous Zebulon Montgomery Pike? Do your readers know of the existence of any unpublished manuscript records pertaining to the genealogy of the Pike family? M. 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, ETC.

DUNLAP, WILLIAM.

[Benedict Arnold, as a British officer, under military surveillance by Cols. Simcoe and Dundas, jointly holding "a dormant commission" from Sir Henry Clinton.]

History of the New Netherlands, by William Dunlap, New York, 1840. *See* 2:201. [Consult, also, Simcoe's "Military Journal," 2nd ed., New York, 1844, pp. 158-162, 325.]

GUEST, MOSES.

Poems on several occasions. To which are annexed extracts from a journal kept by the author while he followed the sea, and during a journey from New-Brunswick, in New-Jersey to Montreal and Quebec. By Moses Guest. Second edition. Cincinnati: Looker and Reynolds, 1824.

[Captain Moses Guest participated in the Revolution as an officer in the New Jersey militia.]

[Yankee Doodle.]

Young Folks' History of America, ed. by Hezekiah Butterworth, Boston, 1881, *see* pp. 266-268.

[A reprint of the original version of 15 verses, 4 lines each, written by a British sergeant, in Boston, in 1775. (See *Notes and Queries*, 10th series, 3:24.)]

EUGENE FAIRFIELD McPIKE,
Chicago.

HOPKINSON, HON. FRANCIS.

The Battle of the kegs, a song.
Military Journal by James Thacher, Hartford, 1854. *See* pp. 372-374.

[An amusing song based upon an incident of the American Revolution.]

LEE, HENRY. 1756-1818.

Adventure of Sergeant-Major John Champe.

Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the U. S., by Henry Lee, New York, 1869; *see* pp. 394-411. *Ditto*, Washington, 1827, *see* pp. 270-284.

[An account of Champe's attempt to capture Benedict Arnold, alive, after the latter's treason. (Quoted in Thacher's "Military Journal," appendix, pp. 380-399, Hartford, 1854.)]

ERRATA

In the January number some errors occurred in the article on Governor Lovelace: the date of his letter to Berkeley should be 1669, not 1668.

On page 32, line 3, for Whitby, read "Whitty;" on same page, line 8 from bottom, for 1664 read 1644; in the chart on page 33, for Katherine married "Whitby," read married "Whitty." There should also be another drop line, showing that Robert and Lovelace Gor-such were different persons.

ANTE, (in February number) p. 118. Farrar article, 2d paragraph, 2d line, for 1699, read 1669.

BOOK REVIEW

RUSSIAN LIFE AND SOCIETY

as seen in 1866-'67 by Appleton and Longfellow, two young travellers from the United States of America, who had been officers in the Union Army, and a journey to Russia with General Banks in 1869. With sketches of Alexander II. and Abraham Lincoln, and emancipation in the Empire of Russia and the Republic of the United States of America. Prepared by Brevet Captain Nathan Appleton, author of "Harvard College During the War." Boston, 1904. 16 mo. pp. 232.

Captain Appleton has given in this attractive volume a glimpse at Russian life

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VOL. I

APRIL, 1905

No. 4

THE PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

I

THE VOYAGE OF VESPUCCI PAST THE MOUTHS OF THE MISSISSIPPI

ACCORDING to the historical researches set forth in this first paper of a series on the discoveries and explorations of the Mississippi in various portions of its course, the river appears to have been earliest discovered and mapped at its mouth in a voyage of Pinzon and Solis, with Amerigo Vespucci as astronomer and cartographer, probably in March or April, 1498, less than six years from the first land-fall of Columbus. Twenty-one years then passed before the Mississippi was next seen in the voyage of Pineda, in 1519, being reached by ascending a bayou from Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas. In 1528 one of the mouths of the Mississippi was seen in the forlorn last voyage of Narvaez; and in 1541 the river was crossed far above its mouth, by the ambitious but ill-fated expedition of De Soto, and after his death it was descended by the survivors in boats to the Gulf. Four times within a period of forty-three years, the Spaniards reached by sea and by land the lower part of the Mississippi. They sought gold or silver in vain, and the extreme disasters of the last two expeditions caused them to abandon their purpose of planting colonies and making this region a part of New Spain. The entire river, excepting its sources, was to be explored and owned by others, but much later, for acquiring wealth by commerce, and for extending the dominion of France.

More than a hundred years after De Soto, the Mississippi was re-discovered by Europeans, this time in its upper course, when Groseilliers and Radisson in 1655, with many Indian canoes, ascended it from

near the Wisconsin river to Prairie Island, if I have rightly understood the narrative of Radisson; and they crossed it higher, at or near the site of Minneapolis, in 1660, when they went to visit the Prairie Sioux at the farthest limit of their second western expedition.

Halfway in time between De Soto and these men, a Spanish expedition under Oñate, coming from New Mexico in 1601, probably reached the Mississippi near the mouth of the Arkansas river; but we have only scanty records of this exploration, which some have ascribed to the year 1662, following a fictitious narrative that would make Peñalosa the leader.

Eighteen years after Groseilliers and Radisson's first trip, Joliet and Marquette navigated the Mississippi for a long distance southward from the Wisconsin river, to the Arkansas; and again, after seven years more, in 1680, it was navigated between the Illinois and Rum rivers by Hennepin, and also, above the Wisconsin, by Du Luth. In 1682 La Salle led an expedition from the Illinois to the mouth of the Mississippi, and there proclaimed its vast drainage area to be the property of France. A few years later, about 1685-90, Le Sueur and his relative by marriage, Charleville, canoed from Lake Pepin far upward beyond the Falls of St. Anthony, probably to Sandy Lake; and in the last year of the seventeenth century, just forty-five years after Groseilliers superintended corn-raising by the Hurons on Prairie Island, Le Sueur and a large mining party navigated the whole extent of the Mississippi from near its mouth to the Minnesota river, and then advanced up that stream to the Blue Earth river.

Without seeking or suggestion by himself, the name of Amerigo Vespucci (also commonly known, in Latin, as *Americus Vespuclus*) was bestowed upon the New World, of which, next after Columbus, he was the most notable discoverer in the sense of bringing to the knowledge of Europe what he saw in four voyages. Though not in command of these expeditions, Vespucci was a skilled geographer, and his services as astronomer and pilot were required to determine and chart their courses, with the newly discovered lands. His letters of description, written to friends without expectation of publication, were printed and proved to be of such popular interest that they passed through many editions and translations, leading to the adoption of the name America, after his death, on maps and globes. It was at first applied to Brazil, which Vespucci coasted on his second, third, and fourth voyages, and was later

extended to both North and South America. In his first voyage, with four vessels, leaving Spain May 10, 1497, and returning October 15, 1498, he appears to have sailed along the shores of Honduras, Yucatan, the Gulf of Mexico, Florida, and our southeastern seaboard north to Pamlico Sound.

Between Vespucci and Columbus a cordial and mutual friendship existed, and the Florentine pilot had no wish nor thought of taking away from the Genoese admiral any part of the honor and gratitude due to him. Both sailed in the service of Spain, but Vespucci also made two voyages for Portugal. It was a Latin book by a German geographer, Waldseemüller, published in the little college town of St. Dié, in a valley of the Vosges mountains in northeastern France, April 25, 1507, which first proposed the name America for the region described by Vespucci south of the equator. There was at that time no intention to include under it the countries farther north discovered and explored by Columbus, Cabot, and other navigators. Winsor and Fiske have traced very instructively the growth of European knowledge of the New World, whereby it was finally learned that all the coasts explored from Labrador to the strait of Magellan are connected parts of one vast continent, on which Mercator bestowed the single name America in 1541, twenty-nine years after Vespucci's death.

Succeeding generations long imputed blame to Vespucci for this supplanting of Columbus in the name of the new continent; but either would have scorned to wrong the other, or to falsify or exaggerate intentionally in the narrations of their voyages. The personal honor of Vespucci has been vindicated by the researches of Alexander Humboldt and the Brazilian historian, Varnhagen; and the latter, in 1865 and 1869, well ascertained that Vespucci's first voyage, made in 1497-98, concerning which much doubt and misunderstanding remained because of the lack of many details in the narration, was the source of the first mapping of Yucatan, the Gulf of Mexico, and Florida. In Vespucci's chart of that very early date the Mississippi river was unmistakably delineated, with a three-mouthed delta projecting into the Gulf.

Varnhagen's luminous researches, published between thirty and forty years ago, were brought more fully to the attention of readers of our English language by Hubert Howe Bancroft in 1883 (*Central America*, vol. I, pp. 99-107), and especially by John Fiske's work, *The Discovery*

of America, published in 1892. No official reports nor chart of Vespucci's first voyage, which was probably under the commandership of Pinzon and Solis, are preserved; but two very early maps, evidently drafted in part from the chart of that expedition, still exist, and were essentially reproduced ten years ago by Harrisse, Winsor, and Fiske, in their elaborate discussions of the Columbian and later discoveries.

One of these two maps was drafted in 1502 by some unknown Portuguese cartographer for Alberto Cantino, an Italian envoy at Lisbon, and hence is called the Cantino map. It delineated crudely the southeastern coast of the United States from the "Rio de los Palmas" (River of Palms)—thought by Fiske to be the Apalachicola river—eastward around Florida and onward north to Pamlico Sound, according to my identification. The coast bears many names of rivers, capes, etc.; and the end of the Florida peninsula is called "C. do fim do Abrill" (Cape of the end of April), whence it is inferred that the expedition in which Vespucci sailed on his first voyage, whose chart supplied this part of the Cantino map, passed through the strait separating Florida from Cuba at the end of April, 1498. The west edge of this map is at its River of Palms, so that it fails to give any information of the part of the Gulf of Mexico farther west.

Comparing the Cantino map with our southeastern coast line, to determine how far Vespucci saw it, I recognize, in their order from south to north, Jupiter Inlet or Indian River Inlet, Cape Canaveral, the St. John's river (or, probably better, Cumberland Sound and St. Mary's river, or St. Andrew's Sound, or the Altamaha), then Warsaw and Tybee capes and the Savannah river, Cape Romain, the Santee river, Winyah Bay and the Pedee river, Cape Fear, New River Inlet, Cape Lookout, the Neuse and Pamlico rivers, and Long Shoal Point (or Sandy or Stumpy Point), extending into the north part of Pamlico Sound. The coast is represented as wholly trending to the north, instead of its curvature to the northeast. Entering Pamlico Sound by Ocracoke Inlet (or whatever passage existed near there four hundred years ago), the ships were probably repaired for the homeward voyage at some very favorable harbor among the many along the exceedingly irregular landward side of this sound, or at some distance up either of its large tributary rivers. The chart failed to note the long beach ridge of sand which forms Cape Hatteras and separates the sound ("mar vaano") from the ocean.

Waldseemüller, the geographer at St. Dié, drafted the second of

these maps, at some date probably after 1504 and certainly not later than 1508. It was published at Strasburg in an edition of Ptolemy in 1513, and was entitled "Tabula Terre Nove." From its reference to a "former Admiral," probably Columbus, it has been often called "the Admiral's map." This bears testimony that the expedition described by Vespucci as his first voyage passed the Mississippi and charted its mouths; for west of the Atlantic coast and Florida, where the shores and names are closely like the Cantino map, Waldseemüller gave a distorted outline of the Gulf of Mexico, with a large river emptying into it by three mouths, pushing its delta far into the gulf, in which respect the Mississippi surpasses any other river, this being indeed the most remarkable feature of its embouchure. I cannot doubt, therefore, that Vespucci sailed past the Mississippi delta early in the year 1498, surveying the mouths of the river from the masthead, or very likely entering the river and spending some time there.

The original "Letter of Amerigo Vespucci upon the Isles newly found in his Four Voyages" was published in facsimile pages, with English translation, under the editorship of George Young, in Philadelphia in 1893, forming a book entitled "The Columbus Memorial," its earlier half being occupied by facsimiles, translations, and notes of letters by Columbus. Only a very scanty statement was given by Vespucci concerning the voyage from some port on the west coast of the Gulf of Mexico, probably that of Tampico, at the mouth of the Panuco river, to "a harbour the best in the world," which appears to have been on Pamlico Sound or river, whence, after repairing their vessels, the expedition returned to Spain. Vespucci wrote of the voyage between these ports: "We navigated along the coast, always in sight of land, until we had run 870 leagues of it, still going in the direction of the maestrale [northwest], making in our course many halts, and holding intercourse with many peoples; and in several places we obtained gold by barter, but not much in quantity, for we had done enough in discovering the land and learning that they had gold."

According to Varnhagen and Fiske, the direction of their sailing, noted as northwestward, referred only to the first start from the port in Mexico, after which they continued along the irregular coast line 870 leagues. It seems to me also noteworthy that they came to this Mexican port by a northwestward course, and so perhaps Vespucci meant only that they went directly onward along the coast, which in that part curves very

gradually to a nearly north course. From his statements of time, with the date indicated by the maps for passing the south end of Florida, it is probable that the expedition was at the Mississippi river late in March or early in April, 1498. Our history of this river, as known to Europeans, thus extends through four centuries.

As my study of the limit of this voyage of Vespucci on the coast of the United States, regarded thus to be at Pamlico Sound, differs somewhat from the conclusions of either Varnhagen or Fiske, it should be remarked further that the Pamlico region had a considerable Indian population, with many little villages, when it was described ninety years later by Thomas Harriot (or Harriott), a member of the unfortunate colony founded there in 1585 on Roanoke island, under the patronage of Sir Walter Raleigh. The Indians at first were very friendly to these colonists, as their forbears had been (if my identification of the locality is true) to Vespucci and his companions. The translation of this part of Vespucci's narrative, given by Young, is as follows:

“ We found an immense number of people, who received us with much friendliness . . . the land's people gave us very great assistance, and continually furnished us with their victuals, so that in this port we tasted very little of our own, which suited our game well, for the stock of provisions which we had for our return passage was little and of sorry kind. Where [*i. e.* there] we remained 37 days, and went many times to their villages, where they paid us the greatest honour: and [now] desiring to depart upon our voyage, they made complaint to us how at certain times of the year there came from over the sea to this their land, a race of people very cruel, and enemies of theirs, and by means of treachery or of violence slew many of them, and ate them; and some they made captives, and carried them away to their houses or country; and how they could scarcely contrive to defend themselves from them, making signs to us that [those] were an island people and lived out in the sea about a hundred leagues away.

“ And so piteously did they tell us this that we believed them, and promised to avenge them of so much wrong, and they remained overjoyed herewith; and many of them offered to come along with us, but we did not wish to take them for many reasons, save that we took seven of them on condition that they should come [*i. e.* return home] afterwards in canoes, because we did not desire to be obliged to take them back to

their country: and they were contented, and so we departed from those people, leaving them very friendly towards us: and having repaired our ships, and sailing for seven days out to sea between northeast and east, at the end of the seven days we came upon the islands, which were many, some [of them] inhabited, and others deserted: and we anchored at one of them, where we saw a numerous people who call it Iti: and having manned our boats with strong crews, and [taken] three guns in each, we made for land, where we found [assembled] about 400 men and women, and all naked like the former [peoples].”

Hard fighting ensued. Many of the natives of the islands were killed, and at last the Spaniards put them to flight and returned to their ships. The next day the natives came again to renew the contest, for which the Spaniards landed.

“ After a long battle,” wrote Vespucci, describing this second day, “ [in which] many of them [were] slain, we put them [again] to flight, and pursued them to a village, having made about 250 of them prisoners; and we burnt the village, and returned to our ships with victory and 250 prisoners, leaving many of them dead and wounded; and of ours there were no more than one killed, and 22 wounded, who all escaped [*i. e.* recovered], God be thanked.

“ We arranged our departure, and the seven men, of whom five were wounded, took an island canoe, and with seven prisoners that we gave them,—four women and three men,—returned to their [own] country full of gladness, wondering at our strength: and we thereupon made sail for Spain, with 222 captive slaves, and reached the port of Cadiz on the 15 day of October, 1498, where we were well received and sold our slaves.”

Varnhagen, in his discussion of Vespucci’s voyages, presented arguments to show that the Bermudas were the group of islands thus occupied by a warlike and cannibal people, whom he supposed to have been soon afterwards exterminated by slavers, before the discovery of these islands by Bermudez about the year 1522, when they were uninhabited. Bancroft and Fiske inclined to the same view. It seems to me more probable, however, that the Bermudas, distant fully six hundred miles from any other land, had never been peopled until they were found by Europeans. The extreme isolation and comparatively small extent of the Bermuda group, far out in the sea, would make it practically impossi-

ble for the savages, with any means of navigation that they possessed, to pass back and forth in frequent war expeditions.

Instead, I believe that the islands visited by Vespucci on the return voyage were the northern part of the Bahama group. Without going so far from the coast and its inlets as to incur much danger of storms, or to completely lose the course and the reckoning in cloudy weather, canoe expeditions from the Bahamas could come frequently, as the narrative says, to attack the Indians in the region of Pamlico Sound. These Indians, too, sometimes pursuing their enemies homeward, might learn the situation of their islands, and would thus be able to pilot the way for Vespucci's ships. According to this view, they sailed south from Pamlico Sound to the Bahamas. The direction of east-northeast, given in the narrative, must be a mistake, being applicable instead for the course taken from the Bahamas to Spain. The larger islands of this very extensive group had many inhabitants when discovered by Columbus; but they were afterward wholly depopulated by the unspeakable cruelties of slave-traders.

The journal and letters of Columbus show that the native people of the Bahamas suffered much from the attacks of the man-eating Caribs, whom they greatly feared but often doubtless bravely repelled. We have also evidence from Vespucci that the Caribs advanced much farther north for war and rapine, boldly navigating the sea in their great canoes, to Pamlico Sound. Whether they had a permanent settlement on the northwestern islands of the Bahama group, can probably never be known; but I believe that either they or the more peaceable Bahama islanders there were attacked, defeated, and many of them captured and sold into slavery, by this Spanish expedition.

This discussion or explanation, though not directly relating to the discovery of the Mississippi river, seems to me needful to set forth my reasons for thinking that Vespucci's narrative of his first voyage is a true account, excepting mistakes of his memory or writing or of later copying.

WARREN UPHAM.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

(To be continued.)

BETWEEN TWO FLAGS.

I.

"To-morrow is Valentine's Day. You are mine. I have chuse you out among the rest, the reason is I love you best—so, my Dear, God bless you. I wish you Health and Happiness."—Isabella Cleghorn to Capt. Joseph Hynson, in a letter from London dated the 13th of February, 1777, intercepted in the general post-office by the British Secret Service, and now preserved among the Auckland MSS. in King's College, Cambridge.

SABELLA Cleghorn? Who was she that her valentine fancies should weigh with nations and be treasured in the archives of a State? A factor in the birth of the American republic? Let those so minded review the evidence and construct an answer to suit themselves.

When the events of our Revolutionary war destroyed commerce with the mother country, it followed in nature, if obscurely, that Joseph Hynson, a young Maryland sea-captain, employed in the London carrying trade, should find his occupation gone. Beating about in search of a new one suited to his taste, Hynson shortly betook himself to France, there to solicit from the American Commissioners some maritime employment in the service of Congress. Several well-known Marylanders in Paris at the time vouched for the newcomer as an able seaman and an honest man. The Commissioners, glad to find a trusty hand, enrolled him among their elect, and Hynson soon received from them orders to cross over to Dover, there secretly to purchase a good cutter-sloop. This vessel, he was told, he should presently command on a voyage across the Atlantic, bearing despatches to Congress.

Once arrived on English soil, it is far from strange that the lively mariner should have longed for a glimpse of old haunts. The circumspect gentlemen in Paris would hardly have smiled, however, upon their emissary's sally into the heart of London; and his visit to his friends the Jumps, at their house in Stepney Causeway, spoke little for his sense of responsibility.

Mrs. Jump, Hynson's friend, received him with tender rejoicing. Robert, her son, echoed the welcome, and pretty little Miss Cleghorn, neighbor and intimate of the household, promptly surrendered her heart

to the handsome sailor. Hynson, "a lusty and a black-looking fellow," with a salt-water gallantry very potent in the feminine eye, warmed under influences so generous. Discretion melted within him, and before his departure for Dover he had acquainted his hostess with the secret in his charge. Anxiety as great as her affection now filled the good woman's mind. Sympathizing in private with the American cause, she yet dreaded so dangerous a service for one she loved. And when, in the newness of her trouble, Mr. Vardill, an American clergyman supposedly "disaffected," chanced to call upon her, her distracted wits could not conceal from his astuteness quite all that loyalty to Hynson demanded.

As Fate would have it, this Vardill, good rebel though he seemed to be, lived, as a matter of fact, "chiefly on his Majesty's bounty." Windfalls such as Mrs. Jump had provided might be turned to excellent use in his own and his master's interest. Lord North, to whose ante-chamber he accordingly ran with his news, pronounced "the farther prosecution of the business a matter of the utmost importance." And from that instant Joseph Hynson's every act came under the surveillance of spies, agents assailed him with every artifice of corruption, his most careless note was scrutinized in its passage through the mails; and, finally, poor Isabella's innocent, schoolgirl love letters seldom came inviolate to the eyes for which alone they were intended.

"My Lord, I take the liberty of sending to you the enclosed Letter from Captain Hynson to his Mistress. . . . The writing on one side of the Letter is part of a rough draft of a Letter which his Mistress wrote to him,"

says Vardill to North, February 10, 1777. Hynson's letter is a mere impersonal account of his safe arrival in Dover, but Isabella's "rough draft," scrawled on the back of her lover's page, seems yet warm with the pressure of the hand that wrote by the flicker of Mrs. Jump's firelight:

"—for my Part I have not slept one hour since your (departure)." [Vardill, in his hasty theft, tore away the sheet so closely as to sacrifice the end of each line.] "I come over (to the Jumps') as often as I can, but not with such (frequency) as I us'd, for I detest the kitchen and the Arm chair (now). We all do. You will make (us) very happy if you will (come) and fill it up again, for Gods

Sake Come home for I am (like) one out of their sences about you. . . . For Gods sake write to me, . . . for I am wretched all (ways). Did you think that Id spare a Groat for Postage. No, not even if I been distressed for it. Mrs. Jump (would) lend it me, so don't let that be your Excuse, as I (think) you Cant have forgot me in a week. Write——, and send to Mrs. Jump, and Come home——"

A second sad little letter, dated February 13, met another fate. Intercepted and copied in the General Post-Office, it was then restored scathless to the mail and allowed to go its way. The copy alone is found in the Auckland MSS.

" To Captain Hynson, Ship Tavern, Dover:

" I rec'd your kind Letter which affords me great pleasure, as it allways does to hear from them that I so dearly love. I should have wrote to you before but Mrs. Jump said I must wait a Day or two, but with great Anxiety I waited. . . . I have been in great distress about you. Night and Day you are Never out of my Thoughts, my dear Hynson. I must leave off, for I was not certain whether I should write or no. . . . My dear Hynson, write to me as often as you can, for that's all the happiness I have, to hear from you——"

Two days later, in a sudden access of fear of the dangerous adventure the nature of which her lover was concealing from her, Isabella wrote again:

"——Dear Hynson, I am afraid you are going to engage in such a thing that will be a means for us to never met again. Oh Hynson, as you will not be open and candid enough to tell me what plan you are upon, I must submit—I long to see you."

Others, writing to Hynson from the house in Stepney Causeway, confirm Isabella's account of her melancholy. "As to poor Bell, you have not been out of her head since you have been gone," Mrs. Jump wrote him, while Robert added a postscript merely to say:

" Bell's kind love (she bother'd me so I could not help it)."

In a letter of his own Robert wrote:

“As to my Sister Bell’s Behaviour, for Mamma has adopted her [as a] daughter. . . . She has been nowhere but to Mrs. Hazelden’s and our house since you went, and you have all this time engrossed all her Thoughts and Discourses.”

And a casual visitor to the household contributed, banteringly:

“I am now sitting beside Mrs. Jump and your fair Isabella, who sends off a Letter to you, and we shall all plague you till we have you again by the Fireside with us, for we can’t spare You. You are a happy Fellow to be so necessary to the Happiness of the Fair. I long to crack a bottle with you once more, and could wish that the summer was come, that we might have a little Junketting about the Country together.”

Hynson himself, writing from Dover to Mrs. Jump, said teasingly, for Isabella’s overhearing:

“You desire me to come back to be tormented by that little Girl, but that is out of the question.”

Yet when a day or two passed without bringing news of the “little Girl,” he grew uneasy, especially in view of the chance of having to quit the country without a farewell message from her.

“Our vessel is not yet ready,” [he told Robert] “but I expect her every minute, when I shall proceed to France, where I long to be. . . . I am engaged in a manner very agreeable to myself. I shall have an Opportunity now of exerting myself in my Country’s Cause, which is the height of my Ambition. . . . If I don’t get a letter from Bell this evening I shall sit down in the morning and write her a Discharge.”

But the coveted letter, delayed, probably, by secret-service Philistines, arrived in the nick of time to prevent so desperate a measure:

“Dear Mother,” [wrote its recipient to Mrs. Jump], “I received your kind Letter Thursday night. . . . and on Friday

Night one from that little Rogue Belle. I have been reading them ever since. . . . I have wrote a long Letter to Bell, which I hope she will pay some attention to, as I should not write in the manner I have done if she were indifferent to me. Tell her to be a good Girl. . . . The reason of my stiling you Mother, is, Bob says you have adopted Bell your Daughter, and if she is a good Girl I must call her Sister—or something else."

At last, after many vexatious delays, the vessel was secured and Hynson set sail for France, the haven of his ambition. But his final thought was for Isabella:

"I have enclosed a letter to my little Girl," [he wrote to a friend,] "which I shall desire your care of. You will take care it goes to Mrs. Jump."

And the first mail coming from Havre after Hynson's arrival there brought under the eye of the English agent a packet for "Miss Isabella Cleghorn"—a long letter full of good-humored chatter about men, women, and fashions, but ending very seriously with this significant passage:

"My Dear Girl: . . . I don't doubt but if I have success my present situation will be very advantageous . . . when I shall be able to receive you with open arms. Till then I shall only wish to hear from you. I shall lose no opportunity of writing to you . . . Believe me to be at all times, yours affectionately,
Jos. HYNSON."

So, very simply, moved this obscure love-affair of long ago. Yet the thought that its consequences might involve the destinies of nations may often have passed through its hero's mind—a mind essentially intriguing and filled with keen ambition untrammelled by doubt. Nor was the man's assurance without its legitimate base. Trusted, on the one hand with an important mission in his country's service, promised the care of affairs of yet greater weight, and cognizant of a multitude of secrets of state, Hynson wielded no inconsiderable power. And when, on the other hand, the chief ministers of the throne completed the circle of his influence by making him an object of flattering solicitations, he felt that his hour was indeed come, and wrote, in frank exultation:

"I now think myself a man of consequence, and am very happy."

And now for the bias of the man. In the matter of politics, Hynson, like many a greater statesman, hoped for reconciliation without separation. Colonial independence thrown into the scale, his respect for the integrity of the kingdom weighed heavily against it, and this delicate balance of his public principles gave to his private interests a possibly decisive importance. England, the centre of royal government, commanded his abstract veneration. England, Isabella's home, held his heart and his pleasure. "He hopes . . . to entitle Himself to a Competence and to sit down in England, where he has a Connection which he is anxious to resume," the King learned from his agents. To that tune the royal money-bags forthwith jingled cunningly.

II.

Though the name of neither Hynson or his sweetheart figures in any of the serious histories of the day, only an unforeseen incident prevented his, at least, from being there recorded. Isabella's influence was to change all his original program. It now remains to show how serious were the results of Hynson's uncertain faith, and with what measure of plausibility Isabella Cleghorn may be called an actual though humble and unconscious factor in the creation of the American republic.

Hynson, as has already been stated, was a man possessed of ambition, self-confidence, and a love of intrigue. Half his heart's desire was to see an early reconciliation of mother-country and colony; the other half to be himself the maker of the peace. His connection with the American Commission to Versailles he consequently regarded purely as a means to this end—his intimacy with the Commission's affairs as a password to the confidence of Downing Street. Never fearing to match his own wit against that of two nations, he clung to the idea that England must be brought to offer to America acceptable terms of compromise before the conclusion of a Franco-American understanding should lend new courage to the rebellious colony. And English diplomatists astutely upheld his faith in his own powers of high accomplishment: "Ce Capitaine continue à voir le Ld. Stormont, qui lui fait l'accueil le plus capable de le flatter," said

Gérald, in his report of April 3, 1777. "Cet homme simple, honnête mais bien intentionné, en a la tête tournée et se croit destiné à être le pacificateur des deux nations."

The first move in Hynson's cloudy scheme involved the delivery to the British of certain valuable despatches going from the Commissioners to Congress. As bearer of these papers, which were to be placed in his hands by Franklin in person, the agent lay under orders to sail from Havre about March 10, in the cutter-sloop that he himself had smuggled over from Dover for the purpose. Lords North and Suffolk, being informed accordingly, despatched Lieut.-Col. Edward Smith to Havre, "furnished with £800 on account, in case it should become necessary to make use of money." No sooner had Smith opened negotiations, however, than a new feature of the scheme developed. Hynson's complaisance had its limits, and he utterly refused to turn over the despatches in simple barter. "Persuasion hangs not on my tongue to attain it," wrote Smith. The precious papers must be forcibly wrested from their keeper, on the very deck of his vessel. Every interest, therefore, turned to that vessel's capture.

"The sloop" [Smith told his principals across the Channel] "is hawld' up into the most private part of the harbour, and the King's Dock. Men are at work upon her with all expedition. I mean that she shall be stuffed with everything that is good, to make her a better and more valuable prize. . . . So tell your ships to be well apprized. . . . You had better have sixty ships out than miss her."

The Admiralty responded promptly. Vessels of war on Channel stations received minute instructions toward effecting so important a capture. No precaution was spared, yet in the event all proved vain, for Hynson was balked of his commission.

"A Schooner arrived in the Mean Time at Nantz from Baltimore," [explained Smith] "with News of the Hessian Misfortune, which determined Messrs. Deane and Franklin to wait for more Events . . . to send their Despatches . . . and to employ Hynson, on whose Courage & Seamanship they place great Confidence, in some other Service."

Foiled in his first design, Hynson now proceeded upon a new one—that of gathering from the Commission to Versailles such news of American affairs as, placed in British hands, might serve his object. Some of these gleanings he gave to Lord Stormont, in Paris, some he confided to Smith, “whom he met as often as they found it convenient,” and some travelled by post to England, under protection of the covers of Admiral Rodney, Hynson’s fellow-lodger in a Parisian inn.

“In doing this,” said Smith, whose relations with Hynson were always most friendly, “he found the Character & Situation of the several People with whom he has to do very favorable to his Purpose. Franklin lives at a little Distance from Paris, but seldom passes a Day without seeing Deane; the latter appears to be the More active & efficient Man, but less circumspect and Secret, his Discretion not being always proof against the natural Warmth of his temper & being weakened also by his own Ideas of the importance of his present Employment. His Residence is at the Hotel d’Hombourg, where he keeps a regular Table for such of his Countrymen as are engaged in the service of the Congress (Carmichael, Weeks, Hynson, Nicholson, Moyland, Franklin’s Grandson, and others). . . . Hynson, who is a free, easy Fellow, & in good Graces of the whole Party, has a real regard for Carmichael & labours hard to draw him into the same system with himself. . . . It is certainly material, if he succeeds. For tho’ both Deane and Franklin may be, & are, according to Carmichael’s, account, too ambitious & Determined (or, in other Words, too malevolent against Great Britain,) ever to adopt any line of conduct short of American Independence, yet Deane and Franklin can, in themselves, individually, do little, & if they are betrayed by those whom they must employ, their Agency will soon come to Disgrace & Despair.”

No ships bearing arms or stores left France for America unknown to the English Admiralty if Hynson’s diligence could prevent it. And Hynson’s diligence seldom slept. During all this period, Deane’s confidence in his agent never faltered. Toward the end of May, 1777, he wrote to John Hancock concerning him:

“—I must in duty to my Country say, I believe he will render . . . good service in the Navy, being a good Seaman, & of a cool, sedate, and Steady Temper of mind.”

Again, on the 5th of September, he says: "I can answer for his fidelity," of which confidence a conclusive proof shortly came forward. On the 7th of October Deane informed Hynson, then in Havre de Grace:

"The Commissioners are sending a packet to America & by this conveyance Capt'n Folger has been wrote to, to take the charge of it if not otherwise engaged, but as it is of importance that this packet goes by safe hands, . . . if he cannot go, . . . I must depend on your executing the commission."

The story of the packet's arrival at the little lodging-house in Havre where Folger and Hynson lived together is thus succinctly told by Lieut. Col. Smith:

"Folger being ready and willing to sail away with them immediately, Hynson took an opportunity of sending Folger out upon some business in the Docks, while he, slipping off the string which was intended to secure the end of the packett, gott possession of the despatches, . . . and then, making up paper equal in length and thickness to what he had taken out, he dextrously filled up the vacancy, shutt up the end of the bundle, passed back again the same string; and upon Folger's returning with a Mr. Moyland, he had the bundle well cover'd, put in a bag, seal'd and deliver'd it to Folger in presence of Moyland, never to be given again out of Folger's hands (unless to be thrown overboard in case of meeting with one of our ships, or into the hands of those they are directed for)."

Leaving behind an excuse for his absence, skilfully prepared to hoodwink Deane, Hynson then hurried over to London, carrying the precious papers with him. Official England delighted in the prettiness of the trick."

"Dear Eden," [wrote the Earl of Suffolk]. "I am tickled with uncommon pleasure . . . at the neat manœuvre by which Hynson has . . . proved himself an honest Rascal. He well deserves his reward. I desire I may communicate (the despatches) myself to Lord Mansfield."

And Eden, in joy too great for formal phrases, informs the King's self that Hynson "is an honest Rascal, and no fool."

So it happened that poor, gulled Folger eventually delivered to Con-

gress, with all due ceremony, a package of blank paper, and was cast into prison for his pains. Duplicate despatches sent out by the Commission soon after Folger's departure were lost at sea, and in consequence of the two calamities no official intelligence reached Congress from France between May, 1777, and May 2, 1778, the day of the arrival of the French treaty.

As to the effect of this circumstance, Deane is somewhat explicit. Mentioning Hynson's exploit as "the only instance of our having our despatches intercepted," he continues:

"At the time of making out the despatches our prospects both in France and in America were extremely discouraging. The Court of France appeared to view our cause as absolutely desperate, and even the appearance of what little countenance they had before shown us they gave the most unequivocal proofs of their resolution to disavow and leave us to our fate. . . . The Commissioners were at that time refused any access to the Minister, even in the most secret manner.

" . . . The Commrs. had not, for some time previous to this date, sent any information of their situation to Congress, for they scarcely knew what to write, and hitherto they had said nothing in a discouraging style, but, on the contrary, had said everything they could . . . to encourage Congress to persevere, and ultimately to expect aid from France. In these (Folger's despatches), though, . . . they could not avoid the mention of facts from which the most unfavourable conclusions must have been drawn by Congress had Folger arrived with the dps. instead of blank paper. . . .

" . . . On the other hand, the British Ministers, from the contents of those despatches and letters, found in what state we were with the Court of Versailles. . . . This encouraged them to prosecute the war with vigour, confident that it must soon terminate successfully on their part."

The result of Hynson's plot, if Deane's conclusions be accepted, was, therefore, directly contrary to his aim. By his diversion of the despatches, British hopes were raised and British offers of concession delayed until the critical moment had passed and America's courage had risen beyond all thought of compromise. Thanks to Hynson's intervention,

"when the Commissioners on the part of Great Britain eventually arrived in America to propose terms of accommodation to Congress,

no discouraging intelligence had been received . . . from the Commissioners in Paris, and they (Congress) still relied on the effect which the victory at Saratoga was expected to have in their favour. They were not, as the event has shown, deceived."

"In every age of the world," Deane reflects, "many, if not most of the greatest events, have been produced from the most trifling causes."

A defensible, if not a profitable, argument might be brought forward to prove the "honest Rascal" the savior of the republic. And, to split a hair still finer, Isabella Cleghorn might, by the same token, be hailed as that savior's inspiration.

Lord Stormont believed in Hynson's sincerity as would-be conciliator of the contending powers. Deane, despite heavy evidence, was never perhaps wholly convinced of his agent's venality. And Hynson himself again and again protested to Smith:

"My motives are not interest," or, "while ever there is a prospect of the disputes being settled I shall still be in hopes."

Is the secret of these contradictions to be found in Smith's sly, early hint:

"He has a connection in England which he is anxious to resume?"

And in Hynson's own words to Isabella:

"My dear girl, if I have success I shall be able to receive you with open Arms."

Certainly the King's gift of a round sum in cash, a pension of £200 yearly, and, if Deane be right, a rank in the English navy, placed that consummation well within his reach, while his ensuing desertion of the stirring life that his soul had loved and retirement into country solitude pointed strongly toward a master motive satisfied. Samson was shorn and drawn into paths of inglorious peace. "God knows what he does!" said a wondering witness. "He dwells with his wife in a little country house, a quarter of a mile out the town."

KATHERINE PRENCE.

Evening Post, N. Y.

CIVIL WAR SKETCHES.

CONFEDERATE FINANCE IN ALABAMA

BANKS AND BANKING

IN a circular letter dated December 4, 1860, addressed to the banks, Governor Moore announced that should the State secede from the Union, as seemed probable, \$1,000,000 in specie or its equivalent, would be needed by the administration. The State bonds could not be sold in the North, nor in Europe except at a ruinous discount, and a tax on the people at this time would be inexpedient. Therefore he recommended that the banks hold their specie. Otherwise there would be a run on them and should an extra session of the Legislature be called to authorize the banks to suspend specie payments, such action would produce a run and thus defeat the object. He requested the banks to suspend specie payments, trusting to the convention to legalize this action.¹ The Governor then issued an address to the people stating his reasons for such a step. It was done, he said, at the request and by the advice of many citizens whose opinions were entitled to respect and consideration. Such a course, they thought, would relieve the banks from a run during the cotton season, enable them to aid the State, do away with the expense of a special session of the Legislature, prevent the sale of State bonds at a great sacrifice, and prevent extra taxation of the people in time of financial crisis.²

Three banks—the Central, Eastern, and Commercial—suspended at his request and made a loan of \$200,000 in coin to the State. Their suspension was legalized later by an ordinance of the convention. The Bank of Mobile, and the Northern and the Southern Banks refused to suspend, though they announced that the State should have their full support. The Legislature passed an act in February, 1861, authorizing the suspension, on condition that the banks subscribe for 10-year State

¹ Smith, *Debates*, pp. 38, 39.

² Smith, *Debates*, pp. 37, 38.

bonds at their par value. The bonds were to stand as capital, and the bills issued by the banks upon these bonds were to be receivable in payment of taxes. The amount which each bank was to pay into the Treasury for the bonds was fixed, and no interest was to be paid by the State on these bonds until specie payments were resumed. All the banks suspended under these acts, and thus the government secured most of the coin in the State.³ In October, 1861, before all the banks had suspended, State bonds at par to the amount of \$975,066.68 had been sold —all but \$28,500 to the banks. By early acts specie payments were to be resumed in May, 1862, but in December, 1861, the suspension was continued until "one year after the conclusion of peace with the United States." By this law the banks were to receive at par the Confederate Treasury notes in payment of debts, their notes being good for public dues. The banks were further required to make a loan of \$200,000 to the State to pay its quota of the Confederate war tax of August 16, 1861. (The privilege of suspension was evidently worth paying for.⁴)

The banking law was revised by the convention so that a bank might deposit with the State comptroller stocks of the Confederate States or of Alabama, receiving in return notes countersigned by the comptroller amounting to twice the market value of the bonds deposited. If a bank had on deposit with the comptroller under the old law any stocks of the United States, they could be withdrawn upon the deposit of an equal amount of Confederate stocks or bonds of the State. The same ordinance provided that none except citizens of Alabama and members of State corporations might engage in the banking business under this law. But no rights under the old law were to be affected. It was further provided that subsequent legislation might require any "free" bank to reduce its circulation to an amount not exceeding the market value of the bonds deposited with the comptroller. The notes thus retired were to be cancelled by the comptroller.⁵ The suspension of specie payments was followed by an increase of banking business; note issues were enlarged;

³ In his message of Oct. 25, 1861, Gov. Shorter made a report showing that the finances of the State for 1861 were in a good condition, and advised against levying a tax to pay the State's quota of the Confederate tax. He stated that the banks had done good service to the State; that, though in time of peace they were a necessary evil, now they were a public necessity; that all the money used by the State in carrying on the war had come from the banks.—Official Records, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pp. 697-700.

⁴ O. R., Ser. IV, Vol. I, pp. 697-699; Acts of Gen'l Assembly, Feb. 2, Nov. 27 and 30, and Dec. 7 and 9, 1861; Patton's Message, Jan. 16, 1866.

⁵ Ordinance No. 33, amending sections 1373, 1375, 1393 of the Code, Mar. 16, 1861.

eleven new banks were chartered,⁶ and none wound up affairs. They paid dividends regularly of from six to ten per cent. in coin, or Confederate notes, or in both. Speculation in government funds was quite profitable to the banks.

ISSUES OF BONDS AND NOTES

The convention authorized the General Assembly of the State to issue bonds to such amounts and in such sums as seemed best, thus giving the Assembly practically unlimited discretion. But it was provided that money must not be borrowed except for purposes of military defense, unless by a two-thirds vote of the members elected to each house; and the faith and credit of the State was pledged for the punctual payment of principal and interest.⁷

The Legislature hastened to avail itself of this permission. In 1861, a bond issue of \$2,000,000 for defense, and not liable to taxation, was authorized at one time; at another, \$385,000 for defense besides an issue of \$1,000,000 in treasury notes receivable for taxes. Of the first issue authorized only \$1,759,500 was ever issued. Opposition to taxation caused the State to take up the war tax of \$2,000,000 (August 19, 1861), and for this purpose \$1,700,000 in bonds were issued, the banks supplying the remainder. There was a relaxation in taxation during the war; paper money was easily printed, and the people were opposed to heavy taxes.⁸

In 1862, bonds to the amount of \$2,000,000 were issued for the benefit of the indigent. The Governor was given unlimited authority to issue bonds and notes, receivable for taxes, to "repair the treasury," and \$2,085,000 in bonds was issued under this permit. These bonds drew interest at 6%, ran for 20 years, and sold at a premium of from 50% to 100%. Bonds were used both for civil and for military purposes, but chiefly for the support of the destitute. Treasury notes to the amount of \$3,500,000 were issued, drawing interest at 5%, and receivable for taxes. The Confederate Congress came to the aid of Alabama with a grant of

⁶ In 1861, two banks were chartered, two in 1862, five in 1863, and two in 1864. Several of these were savings banks.

⁷ Ordinance No. 18, Jan. 19, 1861; Nos. 35 and 36, Mar. 18, 1861.

⁸ Schwab, p. 302; Davis, Vol. I, p. 495; Journal of the Conv. of 1865, p. 61; Acts of Ala., Jan. 29, Feb. 6 and 8, Dec. 10, 1861; Stat.-at-Large Prov. Cong. C. S. A., Feb. 8, 1861; Miller, *Alabama*, pp. 152, 157.

\$1,200,000 for the defense of Mobile.⁹ In 1863, notes and bonds for \$4,000,000 were issued for the benefit of indigent families of soldiers, and \$1,500,000 for defense; \$90,000 in bonds was paid for the steamer *Florida*, which was later turned over to the Confederate government.¹⁰ In 1864, \$7,000,000 were appropriated for the support of indigent families of soldiers and an unlimited issue of bonds and notes was authorized.¹¹ In 1862, the Alabama Legislature proposed that each State should guarantee the debt of the Confederate States in proportion to its representation in Congress. This measure was opposed by the other States, and failed.¹² A year later a resolution of the Legislature declared that the people of Alabama would cheerfully submit to any tax, not too oppressive in amount or unequal in operation, laid by the Confederate government for the purpose of reducing the volume of currency and appreciating its value. The Assembly also signified its disapproval of the scheme put forth at the bankers' meeting at Augusta, Georgia—to issue Confederate bonds with interest payable in coin and to levy a heavy tax of \$60,000,000 to be paid in coin or in coupons of the proposed new issue.¹³

The Alabama treasury had many Confederate notes received in taxes. Before April 1, 1864, (when such notes were to be taxed one-third of their face value), these could be exchanged at par for 20-year 6% Confederate bonds. After that date the Confederate notes were fundable at 33½% of their face value only.¹⁴ After June 14, 1864, the State treasury could exchange Confederate notes for 4% non-taxable Confederate bonds, or one-half for 6% bonds and one-half for new notes. The Alabama Legislature of 1864 arranged for funding the notes according to the latter method.¹⁵ The Alabama Legislature of 1861 had made it lawful for debts contracted after that year to be payable in Confederate notes.¹⁶ Later, a meeting of the citizens of Mobile proposed to ostracise those who refused to accept Confederate notes. Cheap money caused a clamor for more, and the heads of the people were filled with *fiat* money notions.

⁹ *Journal of the Conv.*, 1865, p. 61; *Acts of Ala.*, Nov. 8, Dec. 4, 8 and 9, 1862; *Miller*, p. 168.

¹⁰ *Journal of the Conv. of 1865*, p. 61; *Acts of Ala.*, Aug. 29, Dec. 8, 1863; *Miller*, pp. 186, 189.

¹¹ *Miller*, p. 215; *Acts of Ala.*, Oct. 7, and Dec. 13, 1864.

¹² *Resolutions of Genl. Assembly*, Dec. 1, 1862; *Schwab*, p. 50.

¹³ *Resolutions*, Dec. 8, 1863.

¹⁴ *Confederate Funding Act*, Feb. 17, 1864.

¹⁵ *Acts of Ala.*, Oct. 7, 1864; *Schwab*, pp. 73, 74.

¹⁶ *Acts of Ala.*, Dec. 10, 1861.

The rise in prices stimulated more issues of notes. On February 9, 1861, \$1,000,000 in State Treasury notes was issued and in 1862, there was a similar issue of \$2,000,000 more. These State notes were at a premium in Confederate notes, which were discredited by the Confederate Funding Act of February 17, 1864. Confederate notes were eagerly offered for State notes, but the State stopped the exchange.¹⁷ December 13, 1864, a law was passed providing for an unlimited issue of State notes redeemable in Confederate notes and receivable for taxes.

Private individuals often issued notes on their own account, and an enormous number was put into circulation. The Legislature, by a law of December 9, 1862, prohibited the issue of "shin-plaster" or other private money under penalty of \$20 to \$500 fine, and any person circulating such money was to be deemed the maker. It was not successful, however, in reducing the flood of private tokens; the credit of individuals was better than the credit of the government.

Executors, administrators, guardians, and trustees were authorized to make loans to the Confederacy, and to purchase and receive for debts due them bonds and Treasury notes of the Confederacy and of Alabama, and the interest coupons of the same. One-tenth of the Confederate \$15,000,000 loan of February 28, 1861 was subscribed in Alabama.¹⁸ In December 1863, the Legislature laid a tax of 37½% on bonds of the State and of the Confederacy unless the bonds had been bought directly from the Confederate government or from the State.¹⁹ This was to punish speculators. After October 7, 1864, the State Treasurer was directed to refuse to receive for taxes (except at a discount of $\frac{1}{3}$) Confederate notes issued before the date of the Funding Act (Feb. 17, 1864). Later, Confederate notes were taken for taxes at their full market value.²⁰

Gold was shipped through the blockade at Mobile to pay the interest on the State bonded debt held in London. It has been charged that this money was borrowed from the Central, Commercial, and Eastern Banks and was never repaid, recovery being denied on the ground that the State could not be sued.²¹ But the banks received State and Confederate bonds

¹⁷ Acts of Ala., *passim*. Notes of the State and of State banks were hoarded while Confederate notes were distrusted.—Pollard, *Lost Cause*, p. 421.

¹⁸ Acts of Ala., Nov. 9, 1861; Schwab, p. 8. It was considered a matter of patriotism to invest funds in Confederate securities. Not many other investments offered; there was little trade in negroes.—Pollard, *Lost Cause*, p. 424.

¹⁹ Acts of Ala., Dec. 8, 1863. ²⁰ Acts of Ala., Dec. 13, 1864.

²¹ Clark, Finance and Banking, in the *Memorial Record of Alabama*, Vol. I, p. 341. Statement of J. H. Fitts.

under the new banking law in return for their coin. The exchange was willingly made, for otherwise the banks would have had to continue specie payments or forfeit their charters. And to continue specie payments meant immediate bankruptcy.²² After the war, the State was forbidden to pay any debt incurred in aid of the war, nor could the bonds issued in aid of the war be redeemed. The banks suffered just as all others suffered, and it is difficult to see why the State should make good the losses of the banks in Confederate bonds, and not make good the losses of private individuals. To do either would be contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment.

The last statement of the condition of the Alabama Treasury was as follows:

Balance in Treasury, September 30, 1864.....	\$3,713,959
Receipts, September 30, 1864 to May 24, 1865.....	3,776,188
Total	7,490,147
Disbursements, September 30, 1864 to May 24, 1865..	6,698,853
Balance in Treasury.....	791,294
The balance was in funds as follows:	
Checks on Bank of Mobile payable in Confederate notes	\$ 11,440
Certificate of deposit, Bank of Mobile, payable in Confederate notes.....	1,330
Confederate and State notes in Treasury.....	517,889
State notes, change bills (legal shin plasters)	250,004
Notes of State banks and branches.....	358
Bank notes.....	424
Silver	337
Gold on hand.....	497
Gold on deposit in Northern banks.....	35
Balance	\$ 791,294

To dispose of nearly seven million dollars in small notes must have kept the Treasury very busy during the last seven months of its existence. It is interesting to note that the Treasury kept at work until May 24, 1865, six weeks after the surrender of General Lee.

²² Patton's Message, Jan. 16, 1866.

THE PATROL AT BARNEGAT

[This famous poem—one of Whitman's most vigorously descriptive, if not his best in this form of composition—is written on a quarto sheet, and signed: a few pencil corrections do not show in the print. The *MS.* was sold in New York in 1903.]

first draught - May 1880 (Walt Whitman)
The Patrol at Barnegat
By Walt Whitman

Wild, wild the storm, and the sea high-running,
Steady the roar of the gale with incessant under-
 tone muttering
Shorts of demoniac laughter fitfully piercing and
 pealing,
Waves, air, and midnight, their saugest trinity
 bashing,
Out in the shadows there, the milk-white Combs ca-
 reering
On beachy slush and sand, spirits of snow fierce.
As, through the mire, the easterly death-wind
 slanting,
 breasting,
Through cutting swirl and spray, watchful and
 firm advancing,
(What in the distance! is that a wreck? is the
 red signal flaring?)
Slush and sand of the beach, tireless till daylight
 wending,
A group of dim, weird forms, snow-drift and
 night confronting,
Steadily, slowly, the hoarse roar never remitting,
Along the beach, by those milk-white Combs ca-
 reering
That savage trinity warily watching

EARLY LEGISLATIVE TURMOILS IN NEW JERSEY

PESSIMISTS point to the "frenzied politics" of our day as evidence of the *facilis descensus Averni* from the purity, the lofty and unselfish patriotism of the fathers; and they sigh over the decadence of the statesmen of these modern times, lament the corruption and essential dishonesty of parties and partisans in general, and yearn for a return of the purity and patriotism and statesmanship of the Fathers. The student of history, however, finds that human nature was and has been much the same through all the ages. The business contracts between merchants of Babylon, stamped on bricks five thousand years ago, and brought to light but yesterday, are in much the same terms as those settled in the courts to-day. The Code of Hammurabi, formulated 2200 B. C., shows in every sentence that like questions of rights and wrongs of persons and things were raised in that remote era as are discussed in the luminous pages of Blackstone, and determined in our own day in the fori of the several States, and in the Capitol at Washington. Is it possible, then, that the development of mankind has been on entirely different lines in the political arena? The thoughtful reader must say no. Free-man's remark has become trite: "History is past politics, and politics past History." The burning political issues of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1799; the purchase of Louisiana; the Embargo of 1807-09; the annexation of Texas; the Oregon question, with its alluring alliteration "Fifty-four-forty or fight;" "Bleeding Kansas" and its other expressions, "Free Speech, Free Soil, Free Men;" Anti-Slavery, Abolitionism and Secession; the Greenback craze—not to speak of more recent partisan shibboleths—all were "politics" of the intensest sort in their day. All are now relegated to the background of "history," to be studied in the cold *chiaro-oscuro* of the past. And the men who led the forces marshaled against each other in those great conflicts.—Ah, "there were giants in those days!" Yes, but to their contemporaries they were merely politicians, too often opprobriously dubbed "political tricksters," or even "traitors to their country." What a lot of truth there is in the late Thomas B. Reed's cynicism: "A statesman is a dead politician."

The lust for power is one of the deepest instincts of the human mind. Civilization has not quenched it, but has merely directed it into new channels. Instead of the savage chieftain who once impressed his will on his fellow-tribesmen by tomahawk or flint-tipped arrow-head, or

by terrifying shamanism, we have the statesman—"politician," if you will—exercising his mastery by all the subtle arts which a keen intellect and a profound knowledge of men and the influences to which they are severally and collectively subject, can devise. Here is a splendid field for the orator, to persuade by his burning eloquence; for the leader, to show his mastery over men; for the partisan, to cajole with the promise of sordid spoil, or to threaten the recreant with loss of influence. There is a glorious zest in this pursuit of power, in this forging to the front as a leader of men. Admirable ambition, if inspired by worthy motives. Fascinating, most attractive, to every virile man. What wonder, if in this eager thirst for eminence among his fellows, the ardent leader becomes oblivious at times to the relative rights of *meum* and *tuum*? Success is his aim. He *must* win. The future of his party, the welfare of his country, demands it. No time to palter over finical questions of what is proper, of what is right. "The end justifies the means." Ah, *facilis est descensus Averni*, indeed.

All this by way of preliminary to a few gleanings from some old records of New Jersey, illustrating "past politics" principally in the days of that erstwhile Royal Province, under that unique Chief Executive, Lord Cornbury, who was foisted on the people by his amiable cousin, Queen Anne, doubtless glad enough of the chance to banish him by an ocean's broad expanse from her Court. For a score of years New Jersey had been divided into two Provinces—East Jersey, largely controlled by the Scotch proprietors and their settlers; and West Jersey, dominated by the outwardly meek but inwardly determined Quakers. When the two Provinces were reunited into one—New Jersey—the profligate courtier, the ruffling gallant, the soldier of doubtful reputation, Lord Cornbury, of all men was chosen as the solvent to blend these and all the other antagonistic elements in the Province into one harmonious whole.

His troubles began with the first election of representatives to the General Assembly, held between August 13 and September 9, 1703. That body was to be composed of two members each from Perth Amboy and Burlington, and ten from each Division—twenty-four in all. (So long ago was ordained the exact political equality of East Jersey and West Jersey, which has been scrupulously maintained for two centuries, at least in the upper branch of the Legislature, regardless of the overwhelming preponderance of population now concentrated in what was formerly East Jersey). In the latter Division there appeared at the polls forty-two qualified voters in the interest of the Scotch Proprietors, a great part of

them from New York and Long Island. "On behalfe of the Country there appear'd betwixt three & four hundred men qualifyed & had they thought necessary could have brought severall Hundred more." But the High Sheriff (Thomas Gordon) appointed in the Scotch interest, "multiply'd Tricks, upon Tricks, till at last barefac'd he made ye returne contrary to the choice of the Country." So too in West Jersey, the Quakers, though really in the majority only in Burlington County, "by their usuall application & diligence" secured the return of ten members. Lord Cornbury was intensely disgusted at so adverse a result, and complained to the Lords of Trade that "Severall persons very well qualified to serve, could not be elected, because they had not a thousand Acres of Land, though at the same time, they had twice the vallue of that Land, in money and goods, they being trading men, [while] on the other hand some were chosen because they have a thousand Acres of Land, and at the same time have not twenty shillings in money, drive noe trade, and can neither read nor write, nay they can not answer a question that is asked them, of this sort we have two in the Assembly." However, the Royal Governor was prejudiced against the plebeian Jerseymen.

When the House met, November 10, 1703, a petition was presented, complaining of an undue election of five of the members returned for the Eastern Division. Sheriff Gordon, at his request, was furnished with a copy of the petition, and time was given him to answer it, and to send for such persons as he should find necessary for his defense. Gordon, by the way, was a member of the House from Perth Amboy, and so had a great advantage over his adversaries, as he could sit on his own case, and by judicious logrolling could influence votes in his own behalf. Nor is there anything in the records to show that he had the slightest hesitation in availing himself of his opportunities. Apparently he had doubts about the allegiance of one of his fellow-members, Richard Hartshorne, for on November 16, Messrs. Gordon and Reid were given permission to ask the Governor and Council whether Hartshorne was qualified to sit in the House, and to give their opinion thereon. The Governor advised Mr. Hartshorne to qualify himself as the law required (by the ownership of a thousand acres of land), but in the meantime the House ordered him to withdraw, until he should qualify himself, and he left his seat. The complaint against Gordon was taken up on November 16, and evidence produced on both sides on that and two succeeding days. Hartshorne was unseated on the 17th, and on the 18th it was voted that the evidence for the regularity and legality of the return made by Mr. Gordon

was sufficient, and the petition was dismissed. The House declined, however, to allow the Sheriff his charges against the petitioners. It was also voted not to take any action against the clerks who took the poll at the election in Amboy, and who had refused to deliver them to the Sheriff. It is quite apparent that the House was pretty evenly divided between the friends and foes of the Sheriff-Assemblyman. It is not unlikely that Gordon's finesse in unseating Hartshorne before the final vote was taken determined the result.

Governor Cornbury found the First Assembly so recalcitrant that he dissolved it, September 28, 1704, and a few days later issued writs for the election of a new Assembly, to meet at Burlington on November 9, 1704. His enemies charged that "The writs were issued and the Elections directed to be made, in such hast, that in one of the writs the Qualifications of the persons to be elected was omitted, and the Sheriff of one County not sworn till Three days before the Election, and many of the Townes had not any (much less due) notice of the day of Election." Despite these extraordinary precautions of the Governor to have the elections controlled by his friends there was an adverse majority in the Second Assembly, when it met at Burlington on Novembr 13, 1704, and organized the next day. How was this to be overcome? The way was quickly and readily devised. On November 15, Messrs. Thomas Revel and Daniel Leeds, two of Cornbury's staunchest supporters in the Council, presented a petition to that body, questioning the right of Thomas Lambert, Thomas Gardiner and Joshua Wright to sit in the House. The Governor thereupon refused to swear in those three members-elect. The next day the petitioners asked for fourteen days' time in which to show that these men lacked the requisite property qualification of 1,000 acres of land. The object in asking this long time was to outwear the patience of the Assembly. The same day (November 16) the members in question produced to the House copies of returns of surveys of lands possessed by them, and were given further time to make their qualifications more fully appear, the result being that on December 6 the House decided that each of the men owned a thousand acres of land, and voted unanimously to seat them. Lord Cornbury, however, still declined to administer to them the prescribed oath. The counties for which the three men were chosen to serve, with several other representatives, delivered an address to his Excellency for having them admitted, which, "mett with noe other Reception, than being called a piece of Insolence, and Ill manners." By this exclusion a majority of one was gained for the Governor's party,

and he having secured such legislation as he most desired adjourned the Assembly, December 12, to meet April 27, 1705, leaving the three members-elect in question to cool their heels on the outside.

The House did not meet again until October 17, 1705. The Governor sent in a message commanding sundry measures to be enacted. By this time the Assembly was ready to lock horns with his Excellency, and to stand on its rights. It was accordingly resolved that it should be "full" before considering his suggestions, and a committee was appointed to wait on him and ask him to admit the three excluded members. He parried the issue, but the House would none of his evasions, and decided to do no business until those three men were admitted. The Governor wanted an appropriation for his support, and was compelled to yield and swear in the men, who took their seats October 26, 1705. The Lords of Trade disapproved of his course in a letter of April 20, 1705: "We think, your Lordship will do well to leave the Determination about Elections of Representatives to that House, and not to intermeddle therein otherwise than by Issuing of Writs for any new Election."

Does this incident remind one of the "Broad Seal War," arising out of the action of the Governor of New Jersey issuing his certificate of election to five men as Members of Congress, in 1838, who were really in the minority, on the ground that the returns from certain townships (which would have changed the result) were not before him in due season? Or does it in any way recall the attempt of ten members of the New Jersey Senate to assume to be a majority of the twenty-one members of that body, in 1894?

The Third Assembly, which met at Perth Amboy, April 5, 1707, was also hostile to the Governor. Two of the members of his Council—the pugnacious Lewis Morris and the imperturbable, hard-headed Samuel Jenings, a Quaker—actually resigned from that body in order to be elected to the Assembly, where they could the better harass his Excellency. The Governor had assumed the right to appoint the Clerk of the House, in the person of one William Anderson, who incurred their dislike, and they resolved to get rid of him. How? By the simple expedient of resolving themselves into a committee of the whole, wherein from day to day they discussed the public business, and figuratively "cussed" the Governor. Of course, the committee had a right to choose its own clerk, and selected one of the members. Anderson did not like this, and insisted on his right and duty to sit with them. He imprudently admitted "y^t

he was Sworn to discover Debates y^t were dangerous to y^e Govermt, & y^t he did not know but y^e Committee were going to have such Debates, & yrfore did turn him out." The chairman promptly caught him on this indiscretion, and exclaimed, " Then you suppose we are going to have such Debates?" " It looks like it," replied the clerk. The committee indignantly resolved that his refusal to withdraw from the committee of the whole was a " high Contempt, & a great Interruption of y^e public Affairs of the Province," and that his words were a " Misdemeanor & a scandalous Reflection upon y^e Members of this House." Here was a new grievance whereof to complain to the Governor, and in order to give him time to think it over the House adjourned for a week, and then sent a committee to ask him to appoint another clerk, who should be " a Residenter of this Province." It may be readily imagined that the Governor was loth to lose the services of so faithful a henchman, but he was anxious for another appropriation and was obliged to give way, and named a new clerk. How impatient he must have been to get that Assembly " off his hands!" Have there not been Governors, yea, even Presidents, similarly embarrassed within our own recollection?

Now the Assembly had another rod in pickle for the Governor. It was whispered about that a fund had been raised to bribe him to favor certain measures in the interest of the Proprietors, and that many citizens had been virtually compelled to contribute toward this fund, under threats of serious inconvenience in various ways. The House determined to investigate these rumors, and sent out subpœnas for a large number of witnesses. One of the parties implicated was Capt. John Bowne, a member from Monmouth County. He was a man of resources, and when a certain witness came to town to testify against him he had the man arrested on a capias in a civil suit and sent to jail, where he was detained, all bail being refused. Whereupon the House (April 30, 1707) promptly expelled Bowne for " a Contempt and a breach of the privileges of this House," *nem. con.* They moved more quickly in those days than even in this modern era of hustle.

The Governor's exclusion of three members-elect from their seats was still a sore grievance to the House, and finally that body expressed itself in language the good sense and dignity of which excuse its eccentric orthography:

" We are too Sensably touched with that procedure not to know what must be the unavoydable Consequences of the Governor's refusing to

Sweare which of the Members of an Assembly he thinks fitt; but to take upon himselfe the power of Judging of the qualifications of Assemblymen, and to keep them out of the house (as the Governour did the afores^d three members nigh Eleven Months till he was satisfied in that point) after the house had declared them qualified, is so great a violation of the Lyberties of the people, So great a breach of the privileges of the house of Representatives, So much an assuring to himselfe a negative voyce to the freeholders Election of their Representatives, that the Governour is Intreated to pardon us if this is a Different treatment from what he expected; It is not the Effects of passionate heats or the Transports of Vindictive Tempers, but the Serious Resentments of a House of Representatives For a Notorious violation of the liberties of the people to whom they could not be just nor answer the trust reposed in them Should they declyne letting the Governor know they are Extremely Dissatisfied at so unkind a treatment Especially when its Causes and Effects Conspire to render it so disagreeable."

Lord John Lovelace having succeeded Lord Cornbury as Governor of New Jersey, ordered an election for a new Assembly, which met at Perth Amboy March 3, 1708-9. They were not willing to forgive and forget, any more than are modern partisans. A fulsome address to the Queen had been adopted in 1707 by the gentlemen of the Council, praising Lord Cornbury, and assailing the House, and particularly Lewis Morris and Samuel Jenings, two of its members. The Assembly had got wind of this document, and now requested a copy from the new Governor, who caused it to be furnished to them and it was treasured up for future use.

The wheels of legislation rolled smoothly along for several weeks. There was a sudden jolt, however, on June 11, 1709, when the Council had the temerity to appoint a committee to inspect the journal of the House. The latter body at once retorted in kind, by appointing a committee to inspect the journal of the Council, and desired them to send their journal to the committee that afternoon! The Council of course objected, urging that their proceedings were secret; but the House insisted, and desired to have the journal sent down at seven o'clock the next morning.

And that was the last that was heard of either house attempting to "inspect" the minutes of the other. The Assembly—the representatives of the people—had again triumphantly asserted and maintained their independence.

The Fifth Assembly, which met and organized December 1, 1709, had a number of contested elections before it, which were in general decided in favor of the sitting members. The business of the session proceeded steadily and with unusual monotony until January 2, 1710, when it was enlivened by this incident: A certain bill having been referred to a committee, Mr. Lawrence, one of the members, reported that "they had blotted out the whole of the bill, except the title, which he thought was the best amendment they could make to it." This seemed to be quite a joke, until the chairman complained that while the committee were discussing the measure Mr. Lawrence "Did contrary to his Consent blot out & Cancell the s^d bill and had left nothing remaining Except the title. And that Mr Gershom Mott another of the s^d Committee forcibly detained him when he would have departed the room whilst Mr Lawrence was blotting and Cancelling some part of the said Bill." The House voted that the action of Messrs. Lawrence and Mott was a contempt, and ordered them to be brought before the bar "and there ask forgiveness, with an acknowledgement of the favour of the H^{os} that they were not Expelld the H^{os} & rendered uncapable for ever Serving in this H^{os} againe & other punish^{mts} which this H^{os} might inflict. And that they promise for the Future to behave themselves as becomes Members of this H^{os}." The two practical jokers made the required *amende* and were allowed to resume their seats.

There was another break in the tedium of the session on January 5, when "Mr Sharp Complained that Cap^t George Duncan this morning, Early had called him out privately & drew his Sword upon him unawares he being unarmed, & made at him with his drawn Sword, upon which the said Sharp fled & was pursued by the s^d Cap^t Duncan who hee believes had a designe to kill him.

" And desired the protection of y^e h^{os}."

Capt. Duncan was ordered into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms, and to be kept disarmed until further orders. There he was detained for six days, when, being apparently both sober and sorry, and having asked Mr. Sharp's forgiveness, he was brought before the House, made his apologies all around and "promised to behave himself for the future as becom's a Loyall Subject and a good member of this House," and was allowed to take his seat.

The Assembly elected in 1716 was violently rent by factions for and against the impatient and impetuous Governor Robert Hunter. Col. Daniel Coxe, who had served for several years in the Council, was

removed at Hunter's request, and forthwith set about getting even. To that end he secured his election to the Assembly in 1714, having cleverly manipulated the "Swedish vote" on his immense paternal estates in the southern part of the Province. He was again chosen in February, 1716, from both Gloucester County and the town of Salem, although Sheriff William Harrison, of Gloucester, was accused of resorting to sharp practice to secure his defeat, by removing the polls several miles from the usual place of holding the election. Coxe declared to serve for Gloucester, and being chosen Speaker on April 4, lodged a complaint against Harrison, had him arraigned at the bar of the House, and by order of that body publicly reprimanded him. Governor Hunter was intensely disappointed at the result of the election, and prorogued the Assembly until May 7. On that day the members in opposition stayed away, to prevent a quorum, but after two weeks the friends of the Governor managed to get together thirteen members—a bare majority,—and elected John Kinsey Speaker in the absence of Coxe, and then proceeded to expel Coxe and his whole party for non-attendance, and moreover declared them incapable forever of sitting in that body. Several of them were re-elected, nevertheless, and were gently but firmly again expelled.

I might speak of the action of the West Jersey Assembly in 1685-6, when they "declared to y^o Governor y^t officers of State & Trust belong to them to nominate and appoint." And to that other assertion of their independence when they refused to recognize the course of the Proprietors in appointing John Tatham as Governor. Even in the opening days of the Revolution, when the friends of the new government were welded by the force of circumstances into a harmonious body, strongly disposed to uphold the patriotic Governor, William Livingston, they nevertheless enunciated an important construction of the constitution, in 1778, in declaring void a patent granted by him, incorporating a church, after the manner of his Royal predecessors, and asserting that "the power of granting patents and charters of incorporation, under the present constitution, is vested solely in the Legislature of the State."

Something has been said in this paper of the scandalous conduct of elections. It is gratifying to find a popular reaction as early as 1738, at least in Quaker Burlington, where, though the election was so vigorously contested as to require three days to conclude the polling, it was, notwithstanding, managed "in such a candid and peaceable Manner," according to a newspaper of the day, "as gave no Occasion of Reflection to each other, nor was there any reaping of Characters, or using of Canes in a

Hostile Manner on one another, being sensible that such a Practice is inconsistent with the Freedom which ought to Subsist in our Elections." The inference is irresistible that the conduct of this canvass was in violent contrast with the usual practices.

I might also mention the passage of an act by the Legislature seventy years or so ago, providing for an increase in the membership of the Supreme Court, and then the appointment by the same Legislature of one of its own members to the office thus created! The appointee was an honor to the Bench, and ranked then and for thirty years afterwards as one of the most distinguished men in the land. But what would be thought of such a procedure to-day?

And speaking of courts, I do not recall anything in recent times to match the daring of the Monmouth County people, who on March 25, 1701, captured the Governor of East Jersey, two of his Councillors and two of his Justices, who were holding court for the trial of a townsman on a charge of piracy, he having confessed that he had been on a voyage with the famous Captain William Kidd, "as he sailed, as he sailed." The people would not "stand for" judicial interference in a little thing like that, which brought plenty of "Arabian gold" to our coasts, and so, with grim humor and determination, they kept the Governor and his Court of Sessions, together with the Attorney-General and the Secretary of the Province, in close confinement for four days. As nothing further is said about the matter it is not unlikely that the prisoners were compelled to promise immunity to their captors before being released.

"They didn't know everything down in Judee,"

chuckled Hosea Biglow in self-satisfied complacency. But from the few instances cited it is quite apparent that our honored forefathers, could they "revisit the pale glimpses of the moon," would have little to learn from the modern "Boss" in the way of political audacity, chicanery or finesse.

"For ways that are dark
And tricks that are vain,"

the modern politician is much the same as his predecessor of two centuries ago. But in fact there has been a steady improvement in political methods. What appears to have been common in New Jersey in the early days of the eighteenth century—such as turning a Legislative minority into a majority—is so exceptional to-day as to excite general surprise, and more or less genuine indignation. In that State ten years ago it caused a political revolution.

The golden age of American politics does not lie in the past. It looms up brightly in the future.

All the patriots, all the statesmen who have ever lived in our land, are by no means dead. To-day there are more with us than ever. Perhaps when they have left this sublunary sphere as long as have Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Marshall, Webster, Calhoun, Clay and Benton—*nomina clara et venerabilia!*—future generations looking back upon the eminent men of this day, through the haze of a century, may see our contemporaries surrounded by as effulgent a glamour as that which to our eyes enshrines the worthies who guided the first steps of the Nation along the paths of sure and permanent progress. Let us have faith in the Republic, and in our present leaders, following where they lead aright, and leaving them when they go astray; remembering the golden rule in government, embodied in those matchless words:

“That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

When the time comes that our people shall fully live up to that immortal Declaration we shall see before us and within reach the iridescent rainbow of our hopes, the harbinger of tranquility after the storms of past conflicts; then we shall have attained indeed in our political system and practices to the “golden age.”

WILLIAM NELSON.

PATERSON, N. J.

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED POEM BY EDGAR ALLAN POE

[The MS. was recently sold at auction in New York.]

ELIZABETH it is in vain you say
 “Love not”—thou say’st it in so sweet a way:
 In vain those words from thee or L. E. L.
 Xantippe’s talents had enforced so well:
 Ah! if that language from thy heart arise,
 Breathe it less gently forth and veil thine eyes.
 Endymion, recollect, when Luna tried
 To cure his love—was cured of all beside—
 His folly—pride—and passion—for he died.

E. A. P.

WHEN WASHINGTON CAME TO SPRINGFIELD

IN April, 1905, after the adjournment of Congress, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, started on a tour of the country. On Thursday, October 15, 1789, George Washington, President of the United States, Congress having adjourned, started on a tour of the New England States. The contrasts brought out by the two journeys are so striking that it may be of interest to recall the earlier tour, and some of the conditions under which it was made. President Roosevelt began his trip in the cab of a locomotive. President Washington started in his private coach, with much ceremony, attended by six servants. President Roosevelt travelled thousands of miles to Colorado and Texas, visiting territory, the existence of which was not even dreamed of in 1789. Washington went as far from New York as Portsmouth, N. H., and required a month in which to cover the distance between the two cities. But it is not so much the outward changes in conditions as the attitude of the people which is, after all, of the chief interest. The fiction of the "good old days" is so strongly intrenched in our minds that it is very difficult to break away from it, yet the absence of bitterness to-day in the spirit of the public toward the chief magistrate is no less marked a change than the revolution in physical conditions. President Roosevelt was followed on his journey by the good will of all the people. There might be a sly hit, now and then, at his strenuous bear-hunting, rough-riding proclivities, but the attitude of the people as a whole was respectful and sympathetic. How the different classes of the people felt toward Washington, together with some descriptive hints about his journey, I have endeavored to set forth in the following letters, all drawn from historic sources, which I suppose to have been written by the following imaginary personages:—

John Adams, a young Springfield lawyer, recently from Boston.

Dorothy Coolidge of Boston, a society girl, a friend and former playmate of John Adams.

Enoch Day, keeper of a general store in West Springfield.

Peter Colton, farmer of Longmeadow.

The first letter is addressed to William Armstrong of Pittsfield, and is written by Peter Colton.

LONGMEADOW, MASS., 10th mo., 24th day, 1789.

HONORED FRIEND:

It is going on a Year since I have writ a Letter to you, but you know I have not forgot the man that saved my Life at Monmouth, and I hope you have not forgot Yr old Sargeant of Co A. I hear you are growing prosperous, and I am glad to hear it. I take my pen in hand to tell you of the Visit w'ch our old General has made to Springfield. I thank the Lord that these old Eyes has seen him once more before I die. I knew he w'd not stop in our Town, & so I harnessed up the old horse and took my ten year old boy & started to Springf'ld. After I had bought some Codfish & molases, I tied up my horse in the First Meeting House Sheds & waited by Zenas Parsons Tavern. The General was late, it having rained hard in the Morning, and he did not reach town till nearly Four. There was a crowd around the Tavern Steps, but no great Cheers when the General stepped out of his Handsome Coach. There was several Prominent Gentlemen to meet him, and Zenas, he was a-rubbing his hands and a-bowing, with all the servants behind him. The boys took the Horses around to the stables, & the General, he started to go in, when he sees me standing by the door. What do you suppose he did? There come over his face one of them smiles of his, like the sun breaking through the clouds on a wintry day, & he steps up and shakes my hand & he says, Why here's my old Sargeant. And is this your Boy? a Fine lad, says he, what is his Name? George Washington Colton, says I as proud as a Peacock. He laughs, and pulls out a Silver Dollar, and gives it to the Boy & it will be handed down to his Great grand children, if he has any. Then the General says, Come up in the Evening, says he, & sit with me and the other Gentlemen. Thank you Sir, says I, saluting, I will, as soon as milking, and then he went into the Tavern, for some of the fine Gentlemen was getting quite impatient, seeing him stand talking so long with a plain farmer like me. And yet there is some Sneaks who ought to be on the gallows, that says that George Washington is cold and haughtey, and has no heed for the common People. My paper is used up, so no more at present from.

Yr faithful friend,

PETER COLTON.

The second letter is from Enoch Day, proprietor of a general store in West Springfield, to Joseph Mugridge, merchant, of Medford.

WEST SPRINGFIELD, Oct. 22, 1789.

COUSIN JOSEPH:—It is some time since I have seen you, & I hope that your business is florishing, and that you & Cousin Elizabeth, and little Betty are well. I would be getting on prety well if these blustering returned Soldiers had any thing but their filthy Continental Money to pay with. I had one put in Jail the other day,

old Job Smith, up on the Northampton Road. He came down from his High Horse, after I got the Sheriff on his back & began to sniffle & whine, and talk about a sick Wife, & how he had been wounded at Trenton. I tell you, Joseph, it is our turn now, & we have gott these bare footted heros on the Hip. That white livered Sneak & Coward, G. Washington, was in Springfield, yesterday. A lot of Fools dressed up in their best, and went over the river to see him. I hear he stopped at Zene Parsons' Tavern, and rode in a fine Coach, with four Horses, and a whole company of Lackeys to bend & crouch & lick his Boots. He is more like a King than a president, and they say he grows wors every day. I hear he has already overdrawed his salary, & has stole \$4,000, and I can well believe it. What any one can see to worship in that man, I cannot understand. He is treacherous in private Friendship, a hypocrite in public life, and the World will be puzzled to know whether he is an Apostate or an Imposter, whether he has abandoned his principles or whether he ever had any. Posterity will say that the Mask of political hypocrisy has been worn by Caesar, by Cromwell, and by Washington. This journey he is taking is to make political Capital. He wants a second Term in Office, & he is catering to the vote of New England. He is an aristocrat, a Monocrat, an Anglomaniac, & an American Caesar. He ought to be the Servant of the People, but he wants them to bow & treat him like a little King. We had one odious King George, & now we are burdened with another. He is not the father, but the Step-father of the Country. A friend of mine in New York, tells me for a fact, that this man committed murder in his youth, & you have doubtless heard of those letters of his which have been found, that prove beyond the shadow of a Doubt, that this man, who is hailed as the Saviour of the Country, was really a Coward, that he was at heart as much of a Traitor as Benedict Arnold, only he lacked Arnold's Boldness & Courage to carry it out. I have just received a Pamphlet written by one Valerius, which ought to be scattered abroad as a patriotic Document. I will copy one particularly good paragraph for you.

“ With the Constitution in one hand, and the Word of God in the other, George Washington swore to defend a republican form of government, which abhors the insidious machinery of royal imposture. Has he done so? What have been the fruits of this solemn oath? The seclusion of a monk, and the supercilious distance of a tyrant. Old habits have been on a sudden thrown away. Time was, when he more than any other, indulged the manly walk and rode the generous steed. Now to behold him afoot or on horseback, is the subject of remark. The concealing carriage drawn by supernumerary horses, expresses the will of the President, and defies the will of the people. He receives visits. He returns none. Are these Republican virtues? Do they command our esteem?”

These words, dear cousin, filled with virtuous indignation, yet so elegantly expressed, are no doubt your sentiments as well as mine. Some of our West Springfield people, I am glad to say, have shown much spirit in this matter. The last

time an attempt was made to celebrate the birthday of this odious tyrant, the swabs were stolen from the cannon, so that no salute could be fired. It will be a happy day for the Country, when G. Washington, Charlatan, political Trickster, Apostate, and Coward, is removed from our midst.

Yr Cousin & ob'd't Servant,

ENOCH DAY.

P. S. The last Rum you sent was of Prime quality. If you get any more bargains in those slightly damaged Blankets from England, wch can be sold for new, remember yr loving Cousin.

The next letter is from John Adams, to his friend and former playmate, Dorothy Coolidge of Boston.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., *October 22, 1789.*

MY DEAR FRIEND DOROTHY:—

I know that I ought not to write to you again this week, but my clients are few, and time hangs heavily on my hands, out here in the backwoods. You ask me if there are no handsome Springfield girls to take my attention, and keep me from being lonely. There are some very decent-looking young ladies, whom I see when I attend divine worship in the First Church, but you know very well why I do not care to cultivate their acquaintance. There is only One—no, I will not break my promise which I made, not to propose for your hand again for six months, but you know what I mean. I am going to tell you about the visit which that noble Patriot & Friend of Mankind, President George Washington, has just made to Springfield. He was here yesterday. About four o'clock his coach came up the Main street, horses at a smart trot, and drew up with a flourish in front of Zenas Parson's Tavern. There was a small crowd, and three cheers were give as the President stepped from his coach, but no great enthusiasm, for I am bound to say that Springfield is an anti-Federalist town, and there is already much grumbling about the government. The general remained in the tavern but a short time, when he came out, and mounting a horse set out with several officers up the Boston road, to visit the Government Stores. I learn that he was well satisfied with the location and the improvements, and predicts that there will be here one day great manufactories and warehouses for the making and storing of Munitions of War. After supper he sat for a couple of hours, until ten o'clock, with a company of gentlemen in the great room of the Tavern, before a roaring fire, for the nights are chill. I was invited, no doubt on my father's account, for whom the General inquired kindly. There were, among others in the company, Col Worthington, Col Williams, Adj't. General of the State, Gen William Shepard, Mr Lyman, and many other respectable gentlemen of the Town. I shall never forget that evening. His Excellency talked more freely than is his wont. He is loth to speak of his own achievements, but at the urgent solicitation of Col Williams he told of his part in the Trenton campaign. He gave great praise to our Massachusetts men, particularly to the Marblehead fishermen, who ferried the army, men, horses and guns,

across the river, amid the floating ice. I can very well see, Dorothy, how some men can worship him and others hate him. He is a gentleman, an aristocrat, if you please, by nature; proud, self-contained, refined in every sense of the word. Added to that he is afflicted—I think that is the right word—with an abnormal shyness and reserve. His nature suddenly draws in upon itself, leaving him silent, diffident, almost glum. He cannot speak at such times. His lips close in a firm line; he looks like a marble statue. This mood is what some men mistake for hauteur, pride, arrogance. They call him Caesar, because he does not smirk and grin, and slap every country Tom and Jerry on the back. And yet, beneath that cold exterior, there is a nature which can be as warm and as tender as Spring. Once or twice during the evening he laughed as heartily as any one. I am convinced that the reserve and apparent exclusiveness, which seems so offensive to some, is partly a natural dignity, a respect for his position, and partly a disposition which he cannot help.

But there is a quality about him which only the most superficial observer can fail to notice. The sense of it grew upon me as I sat there and watched the play of his features in the firelight. Dorothy, he is a great man, the greatest, perhaps, that our country will ever see. He is cast in the heroic mold. He belongs in the company of the elect of all the ages. Only once in centuries does Nature form such a man, and then, like Caesar and Cromwell, he must be misunderstood, because he walks in a different atmosphere from the common throng. When I was in college I went on a hunting trip in the New Hampshire wilderness. Away up there in the Northland, suddenly, from a hilltop, I saw that splendid mountain peak, which has just been rightly named Washington. Gloriously, above its fellows, it soared into the sunset sky, remote, inaccessible, companion of the stars, yet rooted in mother earth, with running stream and birds and flowers about its base. That is our Washington, and such he must ever be. Once he alluded to the slanders and vituperations, which cannot but annoy him. He spoke in a voice which had more of sadness than anger in it. "These attacks," he said, "are outrages on common decency. But I have a consolation within that no earthly effort can deprive me of, and that is, that neither ambition nor interested motives have influenced my conduct. The arrows of malevolence, therefore, however barbed and well pointed, can never reach the most vulnerable part of me, though while I am up as a mark they will be continually aimed." The truth is, Dorothy, his public life is one continual martyrdom and self-sacrifice. He does not care for public life. He loves his farm on the Potomac—his horses and his dogs, his tobacco and his wheat, and he would be happier there than in any office which the people can give him. This talk about his being unrepulican is absurd. No man could be more ardently republican. He went into the war from pure sentiment and love of the country. He would have fought in the ranks, if his place had not been in the saddle. He believes, as every man must, in a strong central government, but monarchial institutions he abhors.

At the stroke of ten he arose, and we stood and remained standing as he bade us a gracious good-night and left the room. There was no laughter and loud talking as we went away. A spell seemed to be upon us, the spell of his dignity and nobility and greatness. This morning at seven he started for Boston. May God go with him.

I must say good-night, Dorothy. I wish I could see you. Could you not write more often than once a week? It is very lonely here, but Springfield is really a lovely place. The river, as it comes sweeping down from the hills, is beautiful. There is a very pretty society here for a small town, and some assemblies. I think you love the country. I think that a girl, even one who had been brought up in Boston, might under certain circumstances be happy here. Good-night, again, and Farewell.

Ever your ob'd't Servant and well-wisher,

JOHN.

The last letter is a reply to the preceding.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, Nov. 5, 1789.

MY DEAR FRIEND JACK:—

You needn't abuse me so, sir, because I have not written to you for more than two Weeks. How could I write, with the President here, & so many Balls and Assemblies. Besides, I write quite as often as is good for you. I had thought of not writing any more to you, sir. I am afraid that it may interfere with yr important Business. But I won't stop—just yet. I have seen yr Paragon, George Washington. He reached here on Saturday after he was in Springfield, & it was a Galaday for Boston. There was a great Procession, Militia, marching very straight and fine, trades-people, each guild with the Device of its Craft, and many Gentlemen on horseback. Near the State-house was a triumphal Arch, built across the street. On one side were the words, "The Man Who Unites All Hearts." On the Other "To Columbia's Favorite Son." On the top of the Arch there was a stuffed Eagle. The school children were drawn up in line, & saluted by rolling their writing quills in their hands. The General rode a splendid white Horse, and looked every inch the hero, in his blue and buff uniform. He held his Hat in his hand, and bowed slightly to left and right. He went into the State-house, and came out on the Balcony. Then the great throng below went wild with Enthusiasm. By and by, when they could be heard, a select Choir sang an Ode written for the occasion.

On Sunday morning his Excellency went to Church & sat in the Pew behind ours. I had a new hat, which I think is very becoming. It has a large brim, a gauze crown, & a broad bow with long ends at the back, and it was trimmed with three Ostrich Feathers. What do you suppose that ridiculous old anti-Federalist governor Hancock did? He refused to call on the President, saying that it was the President's place to call upon his High Mightiness. The People were so angry, that threats of violence were heard. You know that the President is stopping at

the Widow Ingersoll's just opposite our house. Well, I was looking out, when, about two o'clock, the Governor's Coach drew up. His gouty legs were done up in red Flannel & his lackeys carried him in, to see the President. Later the President went and drank tea with him and Mrs Hancock. I wouldn't have returned such a call. My father was very much pleased. He said that settled one thing forever, that the National Government was supreme, and the States must take second place.

Wednesday night was the Assembly. I had a lovely pink Silk Gown, made new for the great occasion, & I wore as all the young ladies did, a broad white Satin sash, with G. W. in gold letters, with a laurel Wreath around them. On one end of the sash was painted an American Eagle, & on the other a Fleur-de-lis. I saw yr honored Mother, and she was very gracious to me. She looked very Handsome & Stately, in a beautiful Velvit gown, and the sash like ours, only black with gold letters and Devices.

I had the honor of a Dance with his Excellency, and he was pleased to be most charming in his Manner. He complimented my appearance, and said that he had found our New England ladies quite as Handsome as those in the South. I felt more complimented when he talked with me about public Affairs here, & I know that I blushed when he praised my knowledge of Politics. I admired yr description of him, & I know it is true. I could feel his nobility and greatness of Soul. Oh, Jack, how can anyone say such horrid things of him, when he is so Pure, so High minded, when he is the Saviour of our Country. When he stood there on the balcony of the State-house, with everybody cheering and shouting, I could not help thinking of him as he was at Valley Forge, cold & hungry, sacrificing everything for his soldiers, and the tears of gratitude & affection came into my eyes. Well, he is gone, and I pray he may return safely Home. I suppose he will not go through Springfield on his way back. I asked him about Springfield, and he said it was no great Town, but Lovely in situation, and that Zenas Parson's Tavern was a good one. I think—I am not sure—but perhaps, under certain circumstances, a city girl might be happy in the country. But this letter is too long. I meant to punish you by making it short. You need not expect another for at least a Month. This is to be a very gay winter, & I doubt not, I shall be much sought after, so I shall have small time to write to my friends in the Country.

Yours, with some kindness,

DOROTHY.

The careful historical student may find some anachronisms in these letters, yet in the main they give a true account of the time "when Washington came to Springfield," and rode, with his coach and four along the New England highways, in the bright autumn weather.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

NEWTON M. HALL.

(Read before the S. A. R., Springfield.)

LEXINGTON AND CONCORD

[We are indebted to Mr. Herbert W. Kimball, of Boston, Registrar of the Massachusetts S. A. R., for the two accounts of the "shot heard round the world." The first was prepared for the Boston News-Letter, in 1826, and the second, although written many years ago, was not printed until 1896, and then only in a newspaper, hence will probably be as new to most of our readers as it is to the Editor. The bill of Dr. Fisk has never been published or printed in any form, and is especially interesting as showing, what we believe has not been stated by any writer, that several of the British wounded who were left behind, were cared for by the patriots. The detailed list of the killed and wounded of the patriots was also prepared especially for the S. A. R., and published in their Register, a few years ago.—ED.]

I

BETWEEN the hours of 12 and 1, on the 19th April, 1775, news was received at Lexington by express from the Hon. Joseph Warren, at Boston, that a large body of King's troops, supposed to be about 1200 or 1500 were embarked in boats from Boston, and gone over to land on Lechmere Point (now East Cambridge) probably to seize the military stores at Concord.

On receipt of this intelligence, signal guns were fired, the bell rung, and the militia of the town were ordered to meet at the usual place of parade. About the same time two persons were sent express to Cambridge to gain intelligence and watch the route of the enemy.

The Lexington train band, or militia, and the alarm men, consisting of the aged and others exempted from military duty, except in case of alarm, met according to order, on the commons near the meetinghouse, and waited the return of the messengers. There were present when the roll was called about 120 militia and alarm men together. Between three and four A. M., one of the messengers returned, saying there was no appearance of troops neither on the Cambridge or the Charlestown roads. Put off their guard by this information, and the night being chilly and uncomfortable on the parade ground, the privates were dismissed, to appear again at the beat of drum. Some, who resided in the neighborhood, went to their homes, others to the public house at the east corner of the common. Messrs. Hancock and Adams had been persuaded to depart from the town, as the seizure of their persons was probably one object of the enemy. The return of the second messenger was anxiously awaited by the officers who had continued at their posts,

but he had been taken prisoner by the enemy, as every other person had been who passed up or down the road; so that, after every precaution, the British troops were actually in the town, and upon a quick march towards the place of parade, within half an hour after the company was dismissed. The commanding officer, however, thought it proper to muster them in the very face of the enemy; alarm guns were accordingly fired and the drum beat to arms about 4:30 o'clock. Part of the company, to the number of about sixty, were soon on the parade; others were hastening towards it, when the attack was made. The Lexington company, as they hastily formed on the rising ground to the north of the meetinghouse, were placed in two ranks, ordered to load with ball, and as previously agreed, were determined to offer no aggression, but to repel it if offered by the British.

The British van, commanded by Major Pitcairn, had thus stolen upon the militia unawares, while temporarily dismissed, and it was in sight of the formidable body that the little band of Americans was forming their ranks when the enemy halted at about twelve rods distance. Major Pitcairn with his aids, hastily rode up the Bedford road to right of the meetinghouse, and returned by the Concord road to the left; and having thus reconnoitered this handful of men, drew his pistol and cried: "Disperse, Rebels; throw down your arms and disperse," gave orders to fire, and fired his own pistol. The soldiers at the same time ran up huzzaing, and fired, at first some scattering guns, which were immediately followed by a general discharge, which did no injury, excepting slightly wounding one man; and the fire was not returned; but the second discharge was fatal to several Americans. They returned the fire, as far as the confusion in their ranks from the number of killed or wounded would permit. The militia dispersed immediately after firing, but were shot at as they retreated. The British troops then resumed their march to Concord.

II

This story of the Concord fight is taken from the original manuscript of Thaddeus Blood, of Concord, and was first published in the Boston Journal in 1896. He began as a minuteman, and later was a Lieutenant in Captain Moses Barnes' company, Lieut.-Col. Pierce's regiment, stationed part of the time in Rhode Island and part in Swanzey, as his own quaint phraseology puts its. He says:

On the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, about 2 o'clock in the morning, I was called out of bed by John Barrett, a Sergeant of the militia company to which I belonged (I was 20 years of age the 28th of May next following) : I joined the company under Captain Nathan Barrett (afterwards Colonel), at the old court-house, about 3 o'clock, and was ordered to go to the Court House to draw ammunition. After the company had all drawn their ammunition we were paraded near the meeting-house and I should suppose that there was 60 or 70 men in Capt Barrett's company, and that the whole of the militia and minute-men of Concord under arms that day was not less than 200. About 4 o'clock they were joined by two companies from Lincoln: the militia commanded by Capt. Pierce (afterwards Colonel) and the minute-men by Capt. William Smith —the venerable and honorable Samuel Hoar of Lincoln was one of his lieutenants—and were then formed, the minute-men on the right and Capt. Barrett's on the left, and marched in order to the end of Meriam's Hill, then so-called, and saw the British troops a-coming down Brooks' Hill: the sun was arising and shined on their red coats and glis'ning arms. We retreated in order over the top of the hill to the Liberty pole erected on the heights opposite the meeting-house, and made a halt; the main body of the British marched up in the road and a detachment followed us over the hill, and halted in half gun-shot of us, at the pole; we then marched over the burying-ground to the road and then over the bridge to Hunt's Hill, or Punkataisett so called at that time, and were followed by two companies of the British. One company went up to destroy stores at Colonel James Barrett's, and they tarried near the bridge; some of them went to Capt. David Brown's, some to Mr Ephraim Butterick's. About 9 o'clock we saw smoke rise at the Court House; it was proposed to march into town and were joined by

Westford and Acton companies, and were drawn up west of where Colonel Jonas Butterick now lives. Colonel James Barrett rode along the line, and having consulted with the officers, shouted, not to fire first; then began their march—Robinson and Butterick led. Upon beginning to march the company of British formed first on the causeway in platoons: they then retreated over the bridge and took up three planks and formed, part in the road and part on each side; our men the same time marching in very good order along the road in double file. At that time an officer rode up, and a gun was fired. I saw where the ball threw up the water about the middle of the river; then a second and a third shot, and cry of fire, fire, was made from front to rear: the fire was almost simultaneous with the cry, and I think it was not more than two minutes, if so much, till the British run, and the fire ceased. Part of our men went over the bridge and myself among the rest, and part returned to the ground they had left. After the firing, every one appeared to be his own commander; it was thought best to go the east part of the town and take them as they came back. Each took his own station; for myself, I took my stand south of where Dr Minot then lived; when I saw the British coming from Concord, their right flank in the meadows, their left on the hill.

When near the foot of the hill Col. Thompson of Billerica came up, with three or four hundred men, and there was heavy firing, but the distance so great that little injury was done on either side; at least I saw but one killed, and a number wounded."

The rest of the story is more familiar to us—the steady, running fight, all the way, until Lord Percy's welcome reinforcement saved the day—and the exhausted British detachment reached once more the sheltering lines of Boston, whence they had set out with so much confidence that early morning. Of the patriots, 49 were killed, 39 wounded and 5 missing. Of the British, 73 were killed, 174 wounded and 26 missing.

III

DR. FISK'S BILL

LEXINGTON, *April, 1775.*

The Province of Massachusetts, Debtor to Joseph Fisk, to going to Woburn to dress one of the King's troops; travel three miles and dressing.....	£0 3s. 6d.
April 19, to dressing one of King's troops at Mr. Buckman's in Lexington; travel half a mile.....	2 0
April 20, to dressing seven of the King's troops, at Mr Buckman's in Lexington; two days at one shilling per day each	1 3 0
April 20, to going to Lincoln to Dress two of King's troops; travel three miles.....	3 6
April 20, to going to Ebenezer Fisk's to dress three of the King's troops, two miles.....	3 6
April 23, to going to Cambridge to dress one of the King's troops; travel five miles.....	4 0
April 26, to dressing one of the King's troops three times, at Mr Buckman's in s'd town.....	4 0

Lexington, June 6, 1775
Errors Excepted,

JOSEPH FISK.

[On Monument in Lexington.

*In
memory of
DR. JOSEPH FISK,
Surgeon in the
Revolutionary Army and
member of the Mass.
Cincinnati Society,
who died Sept. 25, 1837,
Aged 84 Years.*

THE DEAD OF PATRIOTS' DAY *
APRIL 19, 1775†

NAME	AGE	WHERE KILLED	TOWN FROM	WHERE BURIED
Ensign Robert Munroe	63	Lexington Common	Lexington	Lexington Common
Jonas Parker	53	" "	"	" "
Jonathan Harrington	30	" "	"	" "
Isaac Muzzy	31	Near Lexington Common	"	" "
Samuel Hadley	29	" " "	"	" "
John Brown	25	" " "	"	" "
Asahel Porter		" " "	Woburn	Woburn
Capt. Isaac Davis	30	Concord Bridge	Acton	Acton Centre
Abner Hosmer	21	" "	"	" "
Capt. Jonathan Wilson	41	N'r Brooks' Tav'n, Lincoln	Bedford	Bedford
Daniel Thompson	40	" " "	Woburn	Woburn
Nathaniel Wyman	25	" " "	Lexington	Old Cemetery, Lexington
Asahel Reed	22	" Hartwell's " "	Sudbury	Sudbury Centre
James Hayward	25	Fiske's Hill, Lexington	Acton	Acton Centre
Josiah Haynes	80	Concord Hill	Sudbury	Sudbury Centre
Jedediah Munroe	54	Lexington	Lexington	Old Cemetery, Lexington
John Raymond	44	N'r Munroe's Tav'n, Lex.	"	" "
Joseph Coolidge	45	East Lexington	Watert'wn	East Watertown
Henry Jacobs	22	Menotomy	Danvers	Danvers
Samuel Cook	33	"	"	"
Ebenezer Goldthwait	22	"	"	"
George Southwick	25	"	"	"
Benjamin Daland	25	"	"	"
Jotham Webb	22	"	"	"
Perley Putnam	21	"	"	"
Daniel Townsend	37	"	Lynn	Lynnfield
Reuben Kennison		"	Beverly	Danvers, Ryal Side
William Flint		"	Lynn	Menotomy, now Ar'l'gton
Thomas Hadley		"	"	" " "
Jason Russell	59	"	Menotomy	Medford
William Polly	30	Mill Pond, Op. Menotomy	Medford	Medford
Henry Putnam	70	Menotomy	"	"
Benjamin Peirce	37	"	Salem	Menotomy
Lieut. John Bacon	54	"	Needham	"
Sergt. Elisha Mills	40	"	"	Needham
Amos Mills	43	"	"	Menotomy
Nathaniel Chamberlain	57	"	"	"
Jonathan Parker	28	"	Dedham	"
Elias Haven		"	Dover	"
Abednego Ramsdell	25	"	Lynn	"
Jabez Wyman	39	"	Menotomy	"
Jason Winship	45	"	"	"
Moses Richardson	53	Cambridge	Camb'dge	Cambridge
John Hicks	50	"	"	"
William Marcy		"	"	"
Isaac Gardner	49	"	Brooklyn	Brooklyn
James Miller	65	Charlestown	Cha'stown	Charlestown
Edward Barber	14	Charlestown Neck	"	"

* The 19th of April is so known in New England, particularly in Massachusetts.

† Although this list has been printed in all the histories of the Revolution, it remained for the Massachusetts S. A. R. to make it complete by adding the place where killed, the home, and the age of each of the victims, and I am indebted to Mr. H. W. Kimball, the Society's Registrar, for the use of it.

THE MEMORIAL TREES AT WASHINGTON

HOW to identify memorial trees has become an interesting question with the Washington authorities who have charge of the public grounds. While this city has no elm under which Washington took command of the army, and no oak that saved the charter of colonial liberties, it has not a few trees about which exceedingly interesting history gathers.

The Russo-American oak, planted a year ago, by President Roosevelt, assisted by Secretary Hitchcock, in the lawn near the west terrace of the White House, has a novel history. It is a lineal descendant of a native American oak, which overshadowed the old tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon. Acorns from this oak were sent by Charles Sumner, while a Senator, to the Czar of Russia. Secretary Hitchcock thus tells the rest of the story:

“ While ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg I made inquiry with respect to the acorns that Charles Sumner, while Senator from Massachusetts, sent to the Czar, and I found that they had been planted on what is known as ‘ Czarina Island,’ which is included in the superb surroundings of one of the palaces of his Majesty, near Peterhof, and there I found a beautiful oak with a tablet at its foot bearing a Russian inscription which reads: ‘ The acorn planted here was taken from an oak which shades the tomb of the celebrated and never-to-be-forgotten Washington; is presented to his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, as a sign of the greatest respect.—By an American.’

I was fortunate at the time of my visit, which was in the fall of 1898, in finding a number of acorns on the ground. Gathering a handful I sent them home, and secured from the seed thus planted a few oak saplings, one of which I planted, with the permission of President Roosevelt, in the grounds of the White House, while another I planted near its grandparent, which is still in existence at Mount Vernon. Both of these young trees, I hope, will reach such age and strength as will, for years to come typify the continued friendship of the Governments and people of the United States and Russia.”

A superb specimen of the Oriental plane tree (*Platanus orientalis*)

originally planted in 1862, in the United States Botanic Garden by direction of Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, now forms one of the chief attractions of Lincoln Park. Having suffered from an overflow of the Potomac in 1870, which threatened its destruction, it was removed from the Botanic Garden to Lincoln Park, then an unimproved Government reservation. In 1872, when this park was improved with walks and ornamental plantings, a part of the plan of improvement adopted was the construction of an oval mound in the center, intended to form the site of a colossal statue of Abraham Lincoln, if an appropriation could be secured for that purpose. This tree was bare-stemmed, with a few small branches near the top, about eight feet from the original ground surface. The mound was made around it, and from this bare stem, which subsequently was covered with earth, it speedily sent out roots, and began a growth of phenomenal rapidity, which has continued till it is now over seventy feet in height, with a nearly equal spread of branches.

Trees as well as statuary may serve as monuments. In the parks and gardens of the cities of Europe there are many such trees. In Washington, the official home of our Presidents, and the temporary abiding place of so many distinguished statesmen and men of letters, exceptional opportunities have been afforded, and there are many trees notable for the historic interest attached to them.

In the grounds around the White House stands a stately American elm said to have been planted by President John Quincy Adams. It forms a conspicuous object, towering above the surrounding plantings on the mound to the southeast of the White House. An American elm was planted by President Hayes in March, 1878, near the west entrance of the north roadway approach to the White House. A sweet-gum tree was planted by President Harrison, in April, 1892, in the lawn northeast of the White House. A scarlet oak was planted by President McKinley, March, 1898, in the lawn west of the White House, bordering the walk now leading to the executive offices.

The Cameron elm, one of the old trees in the Capitol grounds, south of the south wing of the building, is made notable from the circumstance that Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, while a member of the Senate Committee on Public Buildings, intervened in its behalf and prevented its destruction.

In the Botanic Garden are planted a large number of trees, memorials

of men prominent in the Nation's history. These trees are both evergreen and deciduous, and a number of them are splendid specimens. There is the Crittenden tree, an overcup oak, planted in 1863 by J. J. Crittenden, of Crittenden compromise fame. The acorns for this and a companion tree planted at the same time by Robert Mallory, a personal friend of Crittenden, were brought from Kentucky by them. Mr. Mallory's tree was planted on what was, prior to its incorporation in the Botanic Garden, the towpath of the old Washington Canal.

The Garfield tree has this novel history: At the funeral ceremonies of President Garfield a small seedling branchlet of acacia was placed on his coffin by a member of the Masonic fraternity. After his burial this seedling plant was brought to Washington, and planted in its present location. Near this tree, on the opposite side of the walk, an acacia tree has been planted as a memorial to Albert Pike, for so many years the central figure of the Masonic fraternity in the United States. The Hoar and Evarts memorial trees are two handsome specimens of the cedar of Lebanon, planted by Senators Hoar and Evarts, close together. The Holman tree is a superb Crimean fir, planted about thirty-eight years ago by the Indiana economist, who is now almost forgotten. There are two Wahoo, or winged elm trees, planted by Lot M. Morrill and Justin S. Morrill during their terms of service in the United States Senate. These somewhat rare trees are now handsome specimens of the garden.

A Chinese oak with a novel history grows near by; many years ago a friend of Charles A. Dana, travelling in China, picked up a number of acorns under a tree growing by the grave of Confucius, and brought them to America for Mr. Dana, who planted them in his grounds. This tree was grown from one of these acorns.

There are also a number of other memorial trees planted in these grounds; among the most notable are a British oak commemorating the settlement of the Alabama claims, and two American elms, seedlings from the Washington elm growing at Cambridge. And there are many more.

Evening Post, N. Y.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

LETTER FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS TO GOVERNOR CASWELL

[Benjamin Hawkins was a member of the Continental Congress, and interpreter for Washington with the French officers. (Washington is said to have greatly regretted the necessity for an interpreter, as it failed to bring the French officers in proper touch with the commander.) The letter is dated at "Bath" presumably in North Carolina, as the writer refers to "this state." It is addressed to Richard Caswell, the Governor of North Carolina. The writer was born in N. C. in 1754, and died in Georgia, 1816. A Princeton graduate, and proficient in modern languages, his knowledge of French made him very useful to Washington. In 1780 he was commissioned to buy arms abroad. These he shipped in a vessel belonging to John Stanly a merchant of New Berne. After the Revolution he became one of the Senators from N. C. In 1797 he was Indian Superintendent, over all the tribes south of the Ohio, and held this office through several administrations. Although rich he left home to establish a settlement and manufactory in the Creek Nation, near what is now Hawkinsville, Ga. (named in his honor).]

BATH, _____ 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure of informing your excellency of my arrival here with some muskets for this State; I ship'd eight hundred and seventy-eight stand from St. Eustatius, I shall land five hundred stand at Washington—the remainder which come in another bottom, will be at Edenton.

I could not procure anything on the faith of the State, or by barter for provisions or tobacco as was expected, they were taught to believe in the West Indies that a bushel of salt would purchase one hundred weight of tobacco, and that two and one-half, a barrel of pork. While they entertain this idea (salt being of little value there) it will be impossible to barter for more valuable articles, the exchange to be in this State, as was suggested by some gentlemen in the assembly. The price of tobacco had fallen in the West Indies about the time of my arrival there, owing to the quantity just then imported from the continent—which with the advise of Mr. Governeur, the continental agent there determined me to reship the tobacco in Dutch bottoms to Europe, he undertook to do it, and advanced for six hundred of the arms—the remainder I purchased on my own credit on Interest for the State—the arms are very good and purchased at the reasonable price of five and five and a half pieces of eight per stand. Part of the tobacco I ship'd

was damaged, which can only be accounted for either by the negligence of the inspector or the bad state of the warehouse where it was stored.

We were apprised of the sailing of the fleet from New York, which made me assiduous in geting all the arms I could in St. Eustatia as I well knew our situation. A large supply of arms and cloathing may be had by this from the West Indies provided we can make remittances—three thousand stand I am offered and one thousand suits of cloathing.

Should the present plan of importing necessaries still continue to be countenanced by the general assembly, I shall prepair to remit as much as possible, tho' I doubt vessels cannot be procured—freighting at the present extravagant prices will not be so advantageous as purchasing. If the latter be practicable, I must draw on you for money—I will send you the price currant of articles for the West India market by the next opportunity.

A Continental brigantine was cut out from Saby by some British privateers tho' opposed by the fire from the fort, she has been since demand(ed?) but refused—it was suggested that the Captain, —— Ashmead, and some of his men went into the fort and assisted in protecting their vessel, the answer of the governor of St. Kitts to the demand is humourous; he congratulated the governor of Saby¹ on the restoration of the island seized by the rebel Americans

Part of the French fleet have arrived at Martinique, but we had no account of the Count, some supposed he had sailed for Europe others to South America.

We had various reports from Europe which as I recollect I send you—the Dutch have been repeatedly solicited to take part with Britain, they evade it as much as possible, it is said they have given as a reason that they did not think the present plans & intention of the British ministry to be to the interest either of Britain or her allies, but manifestly to their ruin and discredit, and therefore although they were and are at all times ready to act for the interest of great Britain, yet for the reasons before named they must now declare themselves neuter and protest against the proceedings of —— This is credited by some in St. Eustatia.. They further report that the dutch Embassador has ben recalled from the British Court in consideration of a demand of some

¹ San Saba.

vessels carried into the Texel by John Paul Jones; the governor of St. Eustatius imagines that the Dutch will take part with Britain.

The grand convention will be held at Versailles in April—the King of Prussia & Empress of Russia have promised their mediation, the British fleet are in Torbay and do not expect to put to sea till April. John Paul Jones who sailed from Brest in a fifty gun ship with some frigates went north about and did infinite damage to the British vessels—he fell in with the convoy from Norway and took the Seraphis, a new fifty gun ship, and the Countess of Scarborough of 20—Jones engaged the Seraphis two hours, and the whole time they were so near that the guns touched the opposite vessel. Jones lost one hundred and Eighty two men, and Pearson 189. Jones' ship sunk the next day and he went with his prizes into the Texel, there to refit them. Sir Joseph York demanded them, which was so strenuously opposed by the French minister that his demand was refused and repeatedly. Jones was received with every imaginable mark of respect by the Dutch

I expect the pleasure of seeing your excellency within a few days—excuse the imperfection of my letter—I am with due respect—

Dear Sir,

Your most obed't Serv't

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.



LETTER FROM SILAS DEANE TO CAPT. JOSEPH HYNSON.

[This letter, which was sold at auction in New York in May, came to light very opportunely for our article. Its existence was before unknown.—See article "Between Two Flags," p. 203]

Paris, 27 August, 1777.

CAPT. HYNSON—

SIR:

I wrote you on the 4th., the 15th., the 17th., & the 21st.,—on the 17th I sent a copy of my letter of the 4th. I now have before me yours of the 24th., by which it does not appear that you have received any of my Letters, this & the pretended Secrecy with which everything is conducted convinces me of what I have been long since suspicious, (viz) that you are in the hands of a very dishonest man—I once more enclose the copy of my letter of the 4th and again insist, that before you leave Havre, you see that every Bill is just, and that every thing has been conducted as it ought to be, for I freely own to you, I have lost all confidence in Eyries (?) You will then ask me why I have dealt with him at all for this Vessel. I answer at once, to get my Money out of his hands, but if he withholds anything from your knowledge quit him immediately. I have wrote directly to Eyries by this post, & am with due respect,

Sir Your Most Obedt

& very hum; Servt.

S. DEANE.

I have repeatedly told you that you cannot be permitted to cruise in the Channel, & were I to give you a Commission for that purpose it would be fatal to me, therefore urge no more on that subject—I once more inclose you the Orders I gave (on) the 4th and must insist that you see every thing done to your satisfaction or that you instantly tell Eyries you will have nothing to do in the affair.

MINOR TOPICS

WHAT DID WAYNE PLAN IN THIS ORDER?

Mad Anthony was not content with his success at Stony Point, but a short time after issued this order:

Fishkill Landing, 4 Aug., 1779.

Dear Sir: You'll please to order a detachment of one hundred and fifty men, with two days' provisions, under the command of Col. Butler. I wish you to order Major Hull with him.

Interim believe me yours,

ANT'Y WAYNE. B. G.

N. B.—The detachment will move to-morrow morning early.

To Mr. Nath'l Sackett.

It is evident that the contemplated movement was not to be far away, as only two days' provisions were called for. There was something to be performed in the secrecy of the night. Col. Butler was probably Col. Richard Butler, who was a capable officer of the 9th Pennsylvania. Major Hull was later Gen. Hull, of the War of 1812. Sackett had his home in the neighborhood near where Wayne was writing, and had been very active in civil life. He graduated at Yale, and was prominent

in revolutionary committees. He brought to Fishkill the news of the Battle of Lexington, organized local patriotic meetings, and was associated with the leaders in that historic time. It seems that Wayne looked to him to give him some important aid where nothing was accomplished, because of some new turn for other action. Such are familiar to the soldier. Many soldiers were quartered in Fishkill, where those officers and men to be called must have been.

J. HARVEY COOK.

Fishkill-on-Hudson.

THE LAST VETERAN GONE

Hiram Cronk, the last survivor of the War of 1812, died at the age of 105, at his home in Oneida County, N. Y., May 15, and was given a public military funeral in New York City, May 18—the Society of the War of 1812 forming a part of the escort. The body lay in state over night at the City Hall—an honor never before shown to a private soldier—and on May 19 was interred in Cypress Hills Cemetery, Long Island.

QUERY

g. McPIKE—Have the ship registers been preserved, of arrivals of emigrants at port of Baltimore, Maryland, *circa* 1772, from Dublin, Ireland, and London, England? My ancestor, James McPike, of Scotch parentage, is said to

have migrated from Dublin to Baltimore in 1772. His son, John McPike, was born at Wheeling, W. Va., 4th or 5th February, 1795. Is there any local evidence of that fact which is recorded in family Bible records?

GENEALOGICAL

All communications for this department (including genealogical publications for review) should be sent to William Prescott Greenlaw, address: Commonwealth Hotel, Bowdoin St., Boston, Mass.

[A limited number of queries will be inserted for subscribers free; to all others a charge of one cent per word (payable in stamps) will be made.]

16. a. BARTLETT—What was the maiden name of Abigail, wife of Richard Bartlett of Newbury? She died 1687.

b. CROSBY—Who were the parents of Jane Crosby of Rowley, who married, 1644, John Pickard of Rowley and died 1715.

c. HOBBS—Wanted, the parentage of Mary Hobbs of Newbury, who married, 1665, John Kent. She died 1703.

d. PEARSON—What was the maiden name of Dorcas, wife of John Pearson of Rowley? They were married about 1667.

e. RUST—Who were the parents of Mary Rust of Newbury or Ipswich, who married, 1680, John Kent of Newbury.

f. WHEELER—What was the maiden name of Rebecca, wife of Nathan Wheeler? He died 1741.

g. WHEELER—Who were the parents of Susanna Wheeler of Newbury, born 1730, died 1801, who married, 1749, William Coffin of Newbury.

h. WESTWOOD—What was the maiden name of Bridget, wife of William Westwood of Hartford and Hadley? He died 1639.

i. TYNG—Wanted, the maiden name of Mary, wife of Edward Tyng of Boston and Dunstable. He died 1681.

W. I.



ENGLISH PEDIGREE OF THE FIRST GABRIEL LUDLOW, OF NEW YORK

By the late Thomas W. Ludlow, Esq., of Ludlow, N. Y.

George Ludlow,
of Hill Deverill, High Sheriff for
Wiltshire, 1597. Will proved Feb. 4, 1580.
[See Herald's Visitation to Wiltshire, in
1565, made by Robert Harvey, Claren-
cieux King-at-Arms; Bodleian
Libr., Oxon. Ms. B. 446, fol. 4.]

m. Enora, third daughter of Andrew, Lord Windsor,
of Stanwell, Middlesex.

Sir Edmund Ludlow.

Henry Ludlow,
ancestor of the
Earls of Ludlow.

Sir Edmund Ludlow,
the Regicide.

Thomas Ludlow, m. Jane, sister of Sir Gabriel. Pr. M., of Bapton.
of Dinton and Bayliffe.
Died Nov. 1607.
Will proved June, 1608

Sir Edmund Ludlow,
Lt-Gen.,
the Regicide.

Henry Ludlow,
ancestor of the
Earls of Ludlow.

Gabriel Ludlow,
father of Gabriel,
who was
killed at Newbury, 1644;

went to New England, 1639.

This line became extinct.

Roger Ludlow,
of Massachusetts and
Connecticut.
Bapt. at Dinton,
March 7, 1598.
Landed at
Nantasket, 1639;
returned to England, 1654.

Colonel
Gabriel Ludlow,
of Virginia;
d. 1657.

at Jamestown.

Thomas Ludlow,
bapt. at Baversack,
March 1593;

married, at Warmister,

February 15, 1624;

Jane Bennett,
of Scoppe Ashton.

Thomas Ludlow,
m. Martha

of Frome. Baptized at
Warmister, Aug. 27, 1634.
d. 1690.

Gabriel Ludlow, of New York,
born at Castle Cary, Nov. 2, 1663;
arrived in New York, Nov. 24, 1694;
m. SARAH HAMMER, April 5, 1697.

Copy of the Certificate of Baptism of Gabriel Ludlow, of New York.

" December. The first day of this month Gabriel, the sonne of GABRIEL LUDLOW
of frome and of MARTHA his wife was christened."

Certified a true copy of an entry in the Register of Baptisms for
the Parish of Castle Cary, in the County of Somerset, by
A. W. Grafton, Vicar.
10th day of March, 1883.

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WITH

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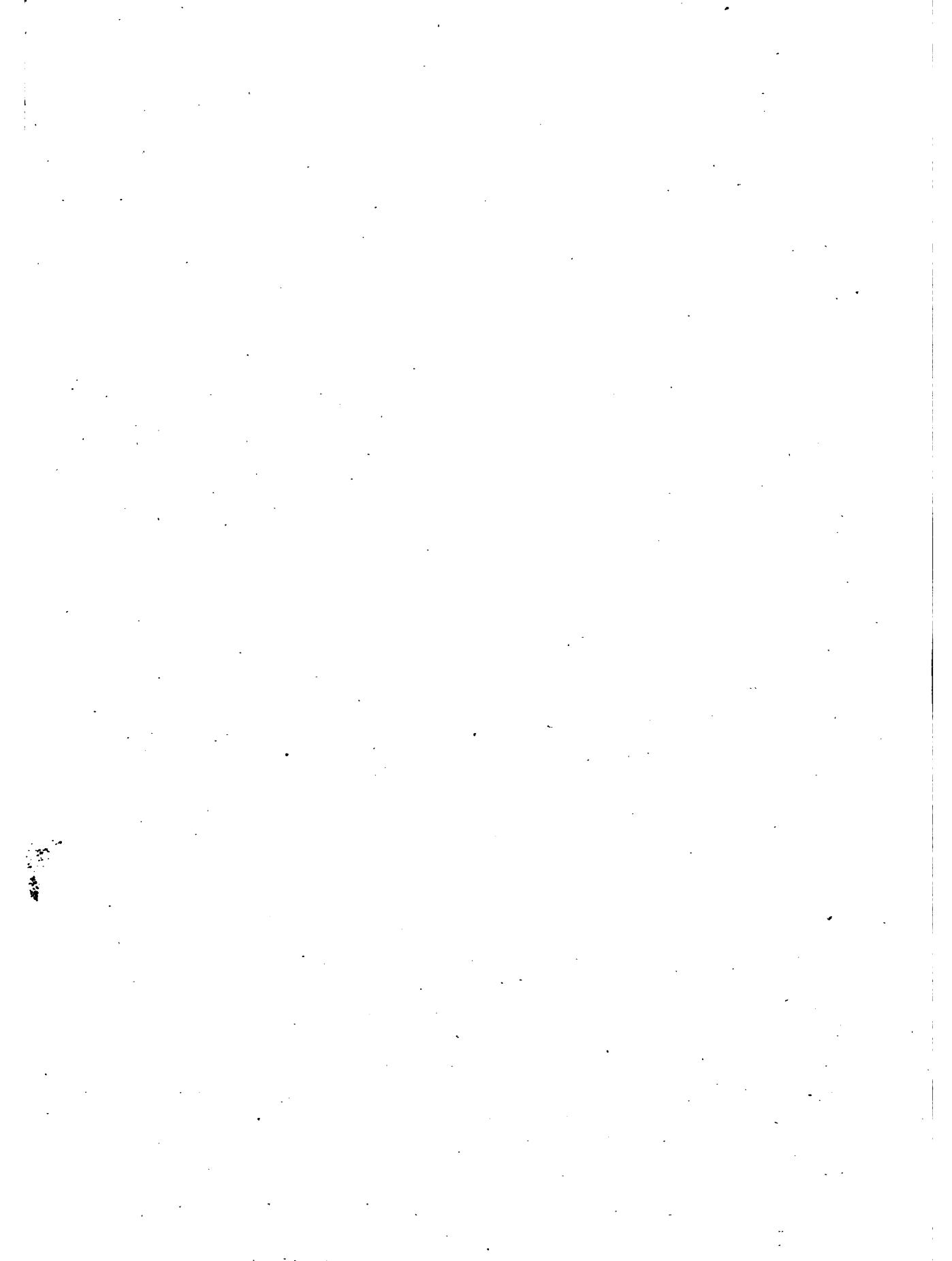
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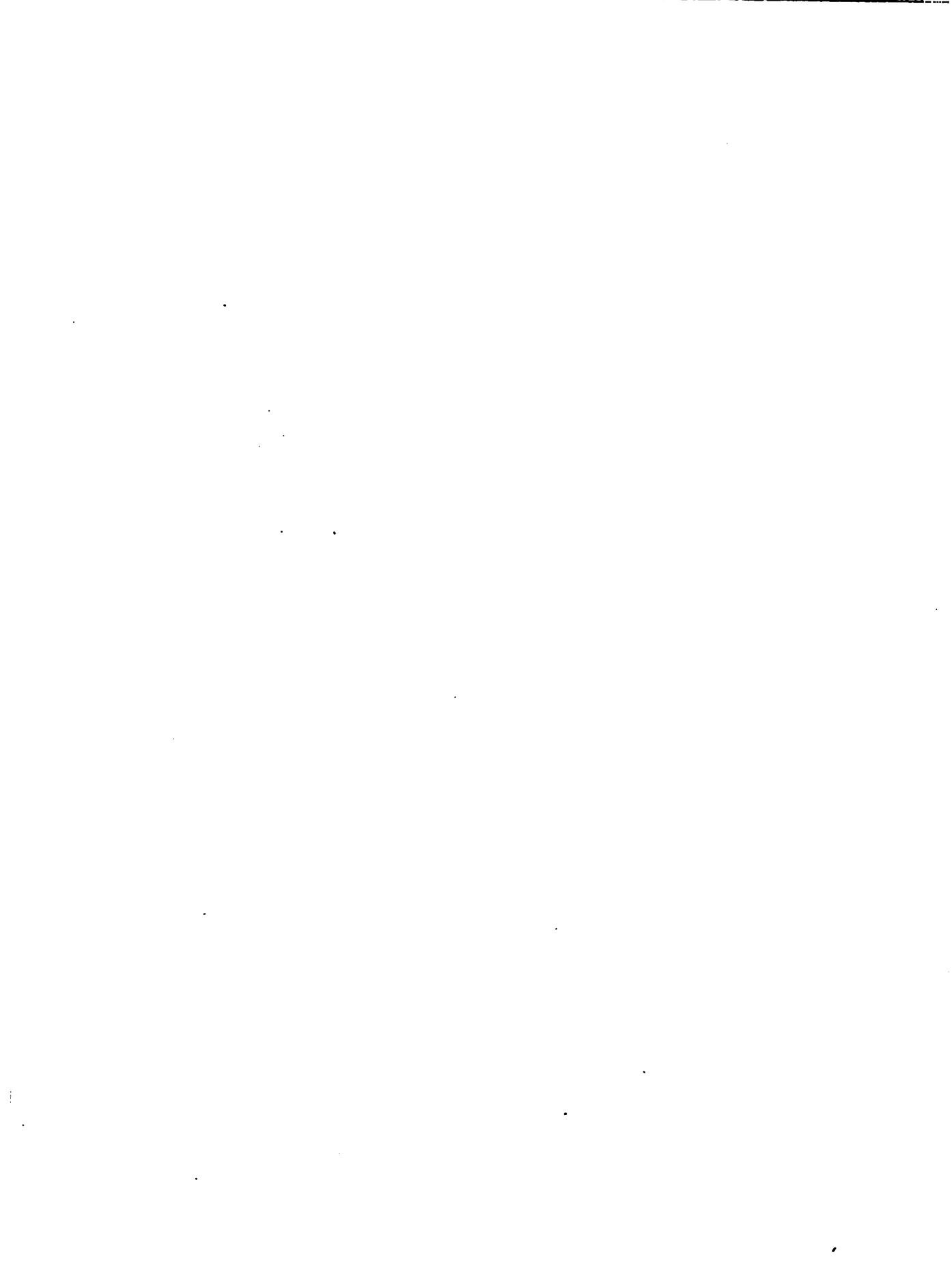
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From the original Painting by Birch

THE MOONLIGHT BATTLE

THE "BON HOMME RICHARD" AND THE "SERAPIS" SEPT. 23, 1779

THE FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA

II

the French Indians, the
old Esquimeaux River or
Desert of North America (1592, p.
100) may typify a land of savages
supposedly desolate and
very cold, where
wherever there is
no habitation, no
no passage, no
the passage of
the Indians, so that
they are

the French Indians. Now as we have the Indians
or wild Indians, it is natural that we have a representation
of the Indian and the savage, or others contrary to the
French Indians, the French. Which is another for the
French Indians, which is present to Scale by Gougeon
in 1592, which is very old. Old Esquimeaux
is the old Esquimeaux, which is
Bermudier's Esquimeaux
in the Parin map, or ancient



From the original drawing, by J. J. C.

THE MOONLIGHT BATTLE

THE "BOON HOMME KICKAPOO" AND THE "SKUNK" SQUADRON

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY
WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. I

MAY, 1905

No. 5

THE PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

II

THE ROUTES OF PINEDA, NARVAEZ, AND DE SOTO AND MOSCOSO

IN 1519 Alonso Alvarez de Pineda (or Pinedo) was sent as commander of an expedition of three or four sailing vessels to explore the coast of Florida and the northern half of the Gulf of Mexico, under a commission from Garay, the governor of the Spanish settlements in Jamaica. The resulting map, transmitted by Garay to Spain, gives a somewhat correctly proportioned outline of the entire gulf, with Florida, Cuba, and Yucatan inclosing it on the east; and the Mississippi is named Rio del Espiritu Santo (River of the Holy Spirit). In Harris's *Discovery of North America* (1892, p. 168), a translation from the contemporary Spanish account of this expedition says, concerning the Mississippi, that the ships "entered a river which was found to be very large and very deep, at the mouth of which they say they found an extensive town, where they remained forty days and careened their vessels. The natives treated our men in a friendly manner, trading with them, and giving what they possessed. The Spaniards ascended a distance of six leagues up the river, and saw on its banks, right and left, forty villages."

Pineda's map shows the Mississippi as if it had a wide mouth, growing wider like a bay in going inland, and it has no representation of the delta; but this river and the several others tributary to the gulf are all mapped only at their mouths. What he meant for the Mississippi is more clearly indicated by the map sent to Spain by Cortes and published there in 1524, which shows the Rio del Espiritu Santo flowing through two lakes close to its mouth, evidently intended to represent Lakes Pontchartrain and Borgne. The same delineation of the Lower Mississippi is given also by the Turin map, of about the year 1523. Both these maps,

doubtless based on information supplied by Pineda, display the course of the Mississippi above Lake Pontchartrain to a distance of apparently at least a hundred miles, where it is represented as formed by three confluent streams. Through questioning the Indians, he probably learned of the Red river, and of its northern tributary, the Black, which would be the two inflowing streams at nearly the distance mentioned from Pontchartrain.

The little ships of Pineda's expedition therefore must be supposed, according to these maps, to have entered the Mississippi by one of its numerous outflowing navigable bayous, which, before the construction of levees, discharged a considerable part of the waters of the great river through Lakes Maurepas, Pontchartrain, and Borgne. The Indian town noted at the mouth of the river may have been at the mouth of the bayou, that is, on or near Lake Maurepas; or it may have been near the chief place of outflow from the main river, which was most probably then, as in recent times, at Bayou Manchac, 117 miles above the site of New Orleans by the course of the river, and 14 miles below Baton Rouge. There is no reason to distrust the statement that within six leagues thence up the Mississippi the Spaniards observed forty groups of temporary or permanent Indian dwellings. If the ships only entered the mouth of the bayou (or of the Amite river, through which the several bayous send their waters to the lake), being there careened and repaired, it is easy to infer that some of the Spaniards ascended the Amite and Bayou Manchac in small boats to the Mississippi, noted the width of that mighty stream, sounded its great depth, and reported its Indian villages. The delta, jutting out as a long cape, was neglected by Pineda in his mapping, which was accepted generally by cartographers. The chart of Vespucci's first voyage, more truthful as to this river's embouchure, had been lost and forgotten.

Harris, from a thorough study of records of Pineda's cruise, concludes that he came to the Mississippi in April or May, 1519, remained at the Indian town forty days, as stated, and went onward, exploring the coast of Louisiana and Texas, in June and July. He coasted beyond the Panuco river, but turned back when he reached the neighborhood of Vera Cruz, already occupied by Cortes. The next year Pineda again voyaged to the Panuco, with many men and horses, to establish a colony, in which endeavor he and most of his company were killed by the Indians.

The next expedition noting the Mississippi river was under the com-

mand of Pamphilo (or Panfilo) de Narvaez, for exploration and colonization of the country north of the Gulf of Mexico, from Florida westward nearly to the Panuco river, over which he had been given the title of governor. Grandly but ignorantly planned, this expedition was most utterly disastrous. Out of the three hundred men who began it, only Cabeza de Vaca, the historian of their shipwrecks and wanderings, with three others, survived to reach Spanish settlements.

In April, 1528, after a stormy voyage from Cuba, Narvaez landed on the west coast of Florida, probably at Tampa Bay. Amid great hardships, the expedition, mostly afoot, but having forty horses, marched through woods and swamps, crossed rivers, found an Indian town called Apalachen, and, finally turning back, came again to the sea, probably at the site of St. Mark's, about fifty miles east of the Appalachicola River. Not finding his ships, on which he expected to re-embark, Narvaez consulted his followers, and they decided, although destitute of tools, to construct boats and voyage westward along the coast. More than forty had died of disease and hunger, and ten had been killed within sight of their camp and boat-building, by arrows of Indian foes, before they embarked, late in September, reduced to the number of two hundred and forty-seven, in five frail vessels, to be propelled by oars, but also provided with sails. They had no adequate means to carry water, and consequently suffered terribly from thirst, as well as hunger. On the sea they were in great peril during storms; and on landing they were assailed by the Indians with stones and arrows.

About the end of October the wretched flotilla reached the Mississippi, of which Cabeza de Vaca wrote in his Relation, as translated by Buckingham Smith:

“ My boat, which was first, discovered a point made by the land, and, against a cape opposite, passed a broad river. I cast anchor near a little island forming the point, to await the arrival of the other boats. The Governor did not choose to come up, and entered a bay near by in which were a great many islets. We came together there, and took fresh water from the sea, the stream entering it in freshet. To parch some of the maize we brought with us, since we had eaten it raw for two days, we went on an island; but finding no wood we agreed to go to the river beyond the point, one league off. By no effort could we get there, so violent was the current on the way, which drove us out, while we contended and strove to gain the land.

The north wind, which came from the shore, began to blow so strongly that it forced us to sea without our being able to overcome it. We sounded half a league out, and found with thirty fathoms we could not get bottom; but we were unable to satisfy ourselves that the current was not the cause of failure."

During the next week the boats, being rowed and drifted westward, were separated by storms; that of Narvaez may have foundered; others were driven ashore and wrecked. Those of the men who escaped from the sea mostly perished by hunger and cold, while some were enslaved by the Indians. Cabeza de Vaca was held in servitude on and near the island where he was wrecked, probably the island of Galveston, during about six years. Thence escaping, with two Spaniards and a negro of their company, he wandered across Texas, Chihuahua, and Sonora, securing the friendly aid of the Indians all the way, and coming to Spanish settlements on the Pacific coast, near the mouth of the Gulf of California, at the end of March, 1536. The next year he returned to Spain, where his Relation was published in 1542. A map of his wanderings was made in Mexico for the viceroy, but it has not been preserved. No addition to the knowledge of the Mississippi was derived from this expedition.

Grander, equally foolhardy, and scarcely less direful in its experiences, was the expedition of Hernando (Ferdinand) de Soto, similarly planned for discoveries, conquest, and the establishment of a colonial government. He attained to a possession of the country granted to him, but only by burial in its great river.

By a strange infatuation, Cabeza de Vaca, arriving in Spain, and being questioned by his kinsfolk, gave them the impression that Florida, then including a large region northwest of the peninsula, was "the richest country in the world." This was near the truth, if understood with reference to capabilities for agriculture; but the Spaniards pictured such wealth of gold and silver as had been recently plundered from Peru and Mexico. A soldier of fortune, De Soto, who was of noble lineage, formerly poor, but who had become suddenly rich with Pizarro from the spoils of Peru, was eager for greater wealth and power. Returning to Spain he secured appointment as governor of Cuba, with a commission to extend Spanish dominion over Florida and the country north of the Gulf of Mexico, where he was to be the feudal lord and governor. It was the same commission as that which had lured Narvaez to his death; but it was thought to be a sure passport to great wealth.

Many young gentlemen of the noblest families in Spain, and some from Elvas in Portugal, flocked to De Soto's standard. One of the Portuguese, whose name is unknown, wrote the narrative, published in 1557, which is our chief source of information concerning the route and history of the expedition. An English translation of this Relation of "A Gentleman of Elvas," made by Richard Hakluyt, was published in 1611, and was reprinted for the Hakluyt Society in 1851. Another translation, by Buckingham Smith, from which ensuing quotations are taken, was published in New York by the Bradford Club in 1866.

There were more volunteers than could be accepted; and after an exultant voyage to Cuba and thence to Florida, De Soto landed, with about 600 men and 213 horses, at Tampa Bay, May 30 (old style), 1539.

Almost two years were spent in marches through inhospitable forests and swamps, fording rivers, and fighting with many tribes of Indians, but finding nothing worth plundering. After much suffering in the winter camps, in the spring of 1541 the weary and wellnigh despairing expedition came to the Mississippi River, probably at the Lower Chickasaw Bluff (in Memphis, Tennessee, and extending ten miles down the east bank of the river), near the northwest corner of the present state of Mississippi, at the distance of about four hundred miles north of the Gulf, but twice as far by the tortuous watercourse. Armed Indians in two hundred canoes, coming from up the river, saluted the Spaniards, and the chief said to De Soto "that he had come to visit, serve, and obey him; for he had heard that he was the greatest of lords, the most powerful on all the earth." The Indians were doubtless treacherous; but here, as usual, the Spaniards were the first aggressors. When the canoes drew off from the shore, "the crossbow-men, who were in readiness," according to the Portuguese Relation, "with loud cries shot at the Indians, and struck down five or six of them."

Delay for thirty days was required in making four large boats to transfer the cavalry and foot soldiers across the river. Beginning one morning three hours before daybreak, by many trips to and fro, they had all crossed before the sun was two hours high, effecting this important movement without molestation by their vigilant Indian enemies. Wherever they marched, the poor native people were robbed, some of them were treacherously killed, and others, taken captive, were compelled to carry burdens, or otherwise to aid the invaders. The Relation says of

this river, which it calls the Rio Grande: "The distance [to cross it] was near half a league: a man standing on the shore could not be told, whether he were a man or something else, from the other side. The stream was swift, and very deep; the water, always flowing turbidly, brought along from above many trees and much timber, driven onward by its force."

Nearly another year was spent in marches, exploration, and campaigning against the Indians, west of the Mississippi, and on April 17, 1542, De Soto came again to the Mississippi, at the Indian town of Guachoya, close below the mouth of the Arkansas river. There he sank into a deep despondency, worn out by the long series of disappointments and losses which had attended the whole course of his expedition; he became sick with malarial fever; and on May 21 he died, after appointing Luis de Moscoso as his successor in command. To conceal his death from the Indians, the body, wrapped in blankets and heavily weighted with sand, was sunk in the middle part of the Mississippi. The new governor and leader, Moscoso, then told the chief of the Guachoya Indians that De Soto "had ascended into the skies, as he had done on many other occasions; but as he would have to be detained there some time, he had left him in his stead."

Moscoso, after consulting the other officers, decided to march southwestward, hoping to reach Mexico; and half a year was lost in going far southwest, repenting, and returning to the Mississippi at an Indian settlement called Aminoya, where the Spaniards found a large quantity of maize, indispensable for their sustenance. This place was a short distance above Guachoya, and apparently above the mouths of the Arkansas and White rivers, on the same (west) side of the great river. Seven brigantines were there built, on which, July 2, 1543, the Spaniards, reduced to three hundred and twenty-two, embarked to go down the Mississippi, taking with them about a hundred Indian slaves to be sold if they should reach Spanish settlements. Two weeks were occupied in descending the river, by rowing and the aid of the strong current, covering a distance which was estimated as about 250 Portuguese or Spanish leagues. (From the mouth of the Arkansas to the Bayou Manchac, by the course of the Mississippi, is a distance of 446 miles, and to the present mouths of the delta, 672 miles.) The debouchure of the Mississippi was described as follows:

"When near the sea, it becomes divided into two arms, each of which may be a league and a half broad. . . . Half a league

before coming to the sea, the Christians cast anchor, in order to take rest for a time, as they were weary from rowing. . . . [Here Indians came, in several canoes, for an attack.] . . . There also came some by land, through thicket and bog, with staves, having very sharp heads of fish-bone, who fought valiantly those of us who went out to meet them. . . . After remaining two days, the Christians went to where that branch of the river enters the sea; and having sounded there, they found forty fathoms depth of water. Pausing then, the Governor required that each should give his opinion respecting the voyage, whether they should sail to New Spain direct, by the high sea, or go thither keeping along from shore to shore. . . . It was decided to go along from one to another shore. . . .

"On the eighteenth day of July the vessels got under weigh, with fair weather, and wind favorable for the voyage. . . . With a favorable wind they sailed all that day in fresh water, the next night, and the day following until vespers, at which they were greatly amazed; for they were very distant from the shore, and so great was the strength of the current of the river, the coast so shallow and gentle, that the fresh water entered far into the sea."

Luis Hernandez de Biedma, a factor or agent for King Charles V, was a member of De Soto's expedition, of which, after returning to Spain, he submitted a report in 1544. From the translation of that report, given by Buckingham Smith in the same volume with this narrative of "The Gentleman of Elvas," we have the following considerably different description of what was thought to be the junction of the Mississippi with the gulf:

"We came out by the mouth of the river, and entering into a very large bay made by it, which was so extensive that we passed along it three days and three nights, with fair weather, in all the time not seeing land, so that it appeared to us we were at sea, although we found the water still so fresh that it could well be drunk, like that of the river. Some small islets were seen westward, to which we went: thenceforward we kept close along the coast, where we took shell-fish, and looked for other things to eat, until we entered the River of Panuco, where we came and were well received by the Christians."

By comparing Biedma's report with the Portuguese Relation, I am convinced that the brigantines did not pass down the Mississippi to its

delta, but went out to the Gulf of Mexico by way of the Bayou Manchac, Lakes Maurepas, Pontchartrain and Borgne, and Mississippi Sound. In other words, Moscoso, with his squadron, took the same passage that Pineda had taken, in 1519, for his entering the Mississippi. Several points in the two narratives need now to be explained in detail, as to their harmony with this conclusion.

First, the Indians had villages near the Bayou Manchac; but probably there were no inhabitants near the true mouth of the river, at the end of the delta. Second, under this view, we must regard the Portuguese statement of a division of the river, into two arms or branches, as referring to the large outflow, at a time of flood, to the Atchafalaya River. Instead of receiving an inflow at the junction of the Red River, the flooded Mississippi there sent out a portion of its current, by the mouth of the Red, to the Atchafalaya; which also, when the Red is at a higher stage than the Mississippi, takes a part of the current of the former, carrying it south by a much shorter course to the Gulf. Third, another statement of the Relation, noting the great depth of forty fathoms where their branch of the river "enters the sea," must be then interpreted as found in the bend of the Mississippi from which the Bayou Manchac flows away.

In its condition of a high flood, the river there opens toward a vast expanse of water, called, by the narrator, "the sea," reaching east over Lake Maurepas and onward to the Gulf. It seems indeed not unlikely that the Mississippi at that place may have then had even so great a depth; for in a sharp curve at New Orleans it was once found by the Mississippi River Commission to have a sounding of 208 feet. On the large scale maps recently published by the Commission, the maximum depth of the river close to the departure of the Bayou Manchac is noted as 145 feet; and in the sharp bend in the east part of New Orleans, 188 feet.

Sailing on the wide Lakes Pontchartrain and Borgne, with the very low lands inclosing the latter probably then submerged, Moscoso and his men would regard all that expanse of fresh water, reaching from the Bayou Manchac nearly a hundred miles east to the Mississippi Sound, as "a very large bay" of the sea. They would consequently be surprised at the very long distance to which the Mississippi sent its waters without their becoming salt; whereas even the greatest floods could not freshen the sea very far out from the mouths of the delta. The Portuguese Rela-

tion says that the Mississippi, before the departure from Aminoya, had risen, in such a high flood, to the ground at the town, where the brigantines were built, floating them; and we may infer, with good assurance, that the same flood continued, at nearly its full height, through the next two weeks, till July 16, when they came to Bayou Manchac and the vast fresh water expanse stretching thence far to the east.

Fifty-two days were spent in slow coasting, with frequent landings, and long delays for storms and to provide shell-fish for food, between the Mississippi and the Panuco River, which was entered September 10, 1543; and there the Spanish town of Panuco welcomed the surviving three hundred and eleven of De Soto's men.

Looking back over the history of this expedition and its results, we see that little was gained for geographic knowledge, and nothing for the honor of Spain or the extension of her colonies. With the clearer light which now enables all civilized nations to recognize the great truth of the brotherhood of all mankind, we are pained to read, throughout this narrative, of the wanton cruelties, murderous warfare, dishonesty and shameless perfidy, with which the Indians were treated by De Soto and his men from the beginning to the end of their expedition. These men were the finished product of medieval chivalry; they had mostly an inordinate self-esteem; and they called themselves Christians, and De Soto died with Christian serenity, in penitence and faith; but in their conduct toward the savages every Christian or humane sentiment was sacrificed to the love of gold and self-advancement. The first white men to voyage far on the Mississippi, and to deal largely with its native people, deemed them outside the pale of human sympathy or mercy.

No geographer, nor expert draftsman for mapping, appears to have been enlisted by De Soto in his grand company of followers. But soon after the expedition was disbanded in Mexico, testimony of those who came back to Europe was taken by some unknown compiler as the basis for a revised map of the "Gulf and Coast of New Spain." This map, preserved at Madrid in the Archives of the Indies, was lately ascribed to the year 1521, in the exhibition sent by Spain to the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. It is reproduced by Harris in his great work, *The Discovery of North America*, and is proved by him to belong to the end of 1543 or some later date. It shows the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, from Georgia to the Panuco river, and extends inland as far as the

country was known, however vaguely, from the explorations of De Soto and Moscoso. The ultimate sources of the Mississippi river, called by Biedma and on this map the Espiritu Santo, are placed on the northwestern flank of the Appalachian mountain belt, due north of Tampa Bay. Thence two streams, meant for the Tennessee and Cumberland (or perhaps Ohio) rivers, of which De Soto had accounts from the Indians, flow west and unite to form the Espiritu Santo, near whose west bank, close below the confluence of a large tributary from the northwest, is Guachoya, the place of De Soto's death. Many other names are also noted, mostly of towns or districts of Indian tribes, derived from his expedition. No indication of the Ohio (probably) nor the Missouri, nor of the Red river as a tributary of the Mississippi, is given by this map. Its northern boundary, beyond which it has only blank space, is at the supposed Cumberland river, and at the mountains adjoining the sources of the northwestern tributary, that is, the Arkansas river. The Mississippi empties into the Vaya (Bay) del Espiritu Santo, which is also called Mar Pequeña (Little Sea), taking the place of the lakes north of New Orleans, and thus confirming my conclusions as to Moscoso's passage into the Gulf. Excepting the long tributaries from the northeast, no greater prominence is given to the Mississippi than to several others of the many rivers pouring into the Atlantic and the Gulf along all this coast.

Here cartography rested during a hundred and thirty years. The next contribution from exploration of the Mississippi was by Marquette's map in 1673.

These studies, indicating that Pineda and Moscoso came and went through the large lakes north of New Orleans, answer the question asked by Dr. Walter B. Scaife in 1892, doubting that Pineda entered the Mississippi, and considering instead that the Rio del Espiritu Santo on the maps sent to Spain by Garay and Cortes represents Mobile River and Bay. This view is elaborately stated by Scaife in the Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Vol. XIII (Supplement, pages 139-176). Among other historians who have adopted this view are Peter J. Hamilton (in *Colonial Mobile*, 1897), and Prof. Alcée Fortier, president of the Louisiana Historical Society (in *A History of Louisiana*, 1904). But their difficulties and objections against identifying the Mississippi as the great river where Pineda careened and repaired his vessels are removed by his coming through Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas.

Not until a hundred and eighty years later, in 1699, have we any historic records of entry or departure through the delta mouths of the Mississippi. Then, on the second day of March, Iberville and Bienville, brothers destined to become illustrious by founding the French colony of Louisiana, entered the eastern mouth of the delta with rowing boats; and in September a small English frigate entered one of the mouths and ascended the river to "English Turn," a great bend ten miles below the site of New Orleans.

WARREN UPHAM.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

(To be continued.)



THE RECORD OF REDDING

MR. GRUMMAN has produced a wholly novel and unique work¹ of a character never before attempted so far as we are aware. It is a record of the services and sufferings of the Revolutionary patriots of a Connecticut town, which through its sons made history and influenced public opinion in a much greater degree than its position and importance would have promised. It is a record also of the loyalists of the town, who suffered even more for their King and Cause than did the patriots, since defeat and banishment with confiscation of their estates was their final portion.

Redding (formerly written Reading) is one of the "hill towns," of Connecticut, seven miles from Danbury and thirteen from Bridgeport, the two "shire towns," of Fairfield County. Its people have always been noted for brain force and intelligence. The number of its sons who have won high places in the professions, in art, literature, diplomacy, the army and navy is something remarkable. At the outbreak of the Revolution it was the seat of a polite and learned society far superior to that of the average country town of the day.

Mr. Grumman divides his book into two parts—"Military History," (a terse and simple account of the campaigns in which Redding soldiers figured, with incidents) and "Revolutionary Soldiers and Patriots of Redding," a series of biographies which is the larger and more valuable portion of the work. In Part I he first sketches in sharp outline the two opposing forces which the troubles with England created in Redding as elsewhere—the patriots and tories. The former organized their "American Association," the latter—very numerous and respectable in Redding—formed their "Redding Loyalist Association," (perhaps the first of the kind in America), in February, 1775.

"In the present critical situation of publick affairs," to quote its

¹ THE REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS OF REDDING, CONN.

And the Record of their Services—with mention of others who rendered service or suffered loss at the hands of the enemy during the struggle for Independence, 1775-1783, together with some account of the Loyalists of the town and vicinity; their organization, their efforts and sacrifices in behalf of the cause of their King, and their ultimate fate. By William Edgar Grumman. Hartford, 1904.

preamble this Association adopted a set of "Resolves" which were published in James Rivington's *Gazette* for Feb. 23, 1775, as follows:—

First. Resolved, That while we enjoy the privileges and immunities of the British Constitution we will render all due obedience to his most Gracious Majesty King George the Third, and that a firm dependence on the Mother Country is essential to our political safety and happiness.

Second. Resolved, That the privileges and immunities of this Constitution are yet (in a good degree) continued to all his Majesty's American subjects, except those who, we conceive, have justly forfeited their right thereto.

Third. Resolved, That we supposed the Continental Congress was constituted for the purpose of restoring harmony between Great Britain and her colonies and removing the displeasure of his Majesty toward his American subjects, whereas on the contrary some of their resolutions appear to us immediately calculated to widen the present unhappy breach, counteract the first principles of civil society, and in a great degree abridge the privileges of their constituents.

Fourth. Resolved, That notwithstanding we will in all circumstances conduct with prudence and moderation we consider it an indispensable duty we owe to our King and Constitution, our Country and posterity, to defend, maintain and preserve at the risk of our lives and properties the prerogatives of the Crown, and the privileges of the subject from all attacks by any rebellious body of men, any Committees of Inspection, Correspondence, &c.

("Signed by one hundred and forty one Inhabitants whose names are to be seen at the Printer's."—adds Rivington.)

The effect of this document on the patriots of Redding was like that of a red rag on a bull. They at once set to work to discover its signers and presently made public in a circular the entire list so far as they belonged in Redding. It was given out by the Committee of Observation under this preamble.

"WHEREAS, There was a certain number of resolves published —and whereas said Resolves are injurious to the rights of this Colony and breathe a spirit of enmity and opposition to the rights

and liberties of all America and are in direct opposition to the Association of the Continental Congress: and notwithstanding said resolutions were come into with a (seeming) view to secure the said signers some extraordinary privileges and immunities, yet either through negligence in the printer or upon design of the subscribers, said signed names are not made publick—and now if there be any advantage in adopting those principles we are willing they should be entitled there to; and for which end and for the more effectual carrying into execution said Association we have taken some pains and by the assistance of him who carried said resolves to said Printer we have obtained the whole of said names. But as we mean not to publish the names of any except those who belong to said Reading, their names are as follows."

Some seventy-four names follow, and then this note:

"There are only forty two Freeholders in the above number; there are several minors, &c., to make the above number of seventy four that belong to said Reading, and we hereby hold them up to the publick as opposers to the Association of said Congress.

Signed by order of the Committee of Observation for said Town of Reading.

EBENEZER COUCH,
Chairman."

The Loyalist Association met this challenge by boldly publishing in Rivington's *Gazette* the entire list of signers, and the battle began. The course of events very soon brought many of the loyalist signers into hearty accord with the patriots, as Mr. Grumman shows, but those who persisted were treated with such severity that they fled to the forests and caves, where they were concealed until they could escape to the British lines.

Free Masons will be interested in Mr. Grumman's account of the making of American Union Lodge, among the officers of the Continental Line while the right wing of the Continental Army lay in winter quarters in Redding, 1778-9. "During the siege of Boston," he says, "the meetings of the Grand Lodge . . . were suspended and a commission was granted by John Rowe (the successor of Gen. Joseph Warren as Grand Master), to Col. Joel Clark of the Connecticut troops to establish a lodge within the army, which was to hold its meetings whenever

convenient as the army moved from place to place. This lodge was to be designated "The American Union Lodge." It was accordingly organized, but the change of base to New York and the stirring events which followed seem to have prevented further meetings. Its Master, Col. Clark, died after the Long Island campaign and the Lodge appears to have lapsed until the encampment at Redding brought the Connecticut officers together with leisure to renew their fraternal relations. For this purpose the Lodge was convened early in February, in conformity to the following notice:

"On the application of a number of gentlemen, brethren of the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, to the members of American Union Lodge held by authority under the Right Worshipful John Rowe Esq. Grand Master of all Masons in North America, where no Grand Master is appointed, requesting that the said American Union Lodge meet for the purpose of re-establishing the Ancient Craft in the same. Agreeable to which a summons was issued desiring the members of the American Union Lodge to meet at Widow Sanford's, near Reading Olde Meeting House, on Monday the 15th of inst. February at 4 o'clock post m. and an invitation sent to the others, the brethren of the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons to attend at 5 o'clock Post m.

JONATHAN HEART,
Secretary."

At this first meeting Gen. Samuel H. Parsons was elected Master in place of Col. Clark, deceased.

Several meetings of the Lodge were held while the Army lay at Redding, two of which were attended by Washington (though Mr. Grumman does not note the fact). On March 22 it held a dinner at Esq. Hawley's, "the Rev. Dr. Evans and a number of gentlemen and ladies being present," and a "Grand Banquet" on April 7th, four days before orders came for the Army to prepare to leave. A very full account of this is given by Mr. Grumman in a quotation from the Lodge records:

It having been voted to dine at three o'clock, at half past one the procession began as follows:

1. Br. Whitney, Outside Tyler.

2. The Wardens with white rods.
3. The youngest Brother with the Bag.
4. The Brethren by Juniority.
5. The W. Master with his Rod.

The Treasurer on his right hand supporting the Sword of Justice: the Secretary on his left supporting the Bible, Square, and Compasses.

6. Br. Peck, the Inside Tyler. Music advanced playing the Entered Apprentice March.

The W. Master and Brethren having seated themselves together with a number of respectable Inhabitants, gentlemen and ladies, the Rev. Doct. Evans delivered a discourse suitable to the occasion.

After dinner the W. Master called on Bro. Munson and others for songs and sentiments when the company were favored with the following, each song and toast being enlivened with appropriate music.

Song by Bro. MUNSON.....	<i>Watery Gods</i>
Toast.....	<i>Health of Congress</i>
Music.....	<i>Grenadier's March</i>
Song by Bro. MUNSON.....	<i>Elegy on Gen. Wolfe</i>
Toast.....	<i>Arts and Sciences</i>
Music.....	<i>Dead March</i>
Mason's Song by Bro. REDFIELD.....	
Toast.....	<i>The Good and Just</i>
Music.....	<i>Prince Eugene</i>
Song by Bro. MUNSON.....	<i>Colin and Phebe</i>
Toast.....	<i>The Ladies of America</i>
Music.....	<i>Country Jig</i>
Song on Masonry by Bro. MARSHALL.....	
Music.....	<i>Splendor of the Morning</i>
Song by Bros. MUNSON and MARSHALL.....	
	<i>The Tempest</i>
<i>With Jack the Seaman to conclude.</i>	

At six o'clock the procession returned to the Lodge room and the Lodge being opened it was,

Voted, That the thanks of the lodge be presented in writing to the Rev. Doct. Evans for his polite address and sentiments delivered this day, and that Bro. Waldo wait on him with the same; also that Bro. Waldo present our thanks to the Rev. Mr. Bartlett and to the other gentlemen and ladies who favored the lodge with their company at dinner."

Todd, in his History of Redding gives one of the songs sung on this occasion.

But it is in his biographical record of the patriots and loyalists of Redding that Mr. Grumman's book is most original and valuable. There are one hundred pages of these, compiled with an accuracy and fullness surprising to one who realizes the paucity of material of this sort now extant and the difficulty of securing it.

Joel Barlow, poet, statesman, and earlier, Chaplain in the Army was one of the most distinguished of these. Mr. Grumman has a very interesting extract from the diary of the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, dated Sept. 14, 1773, regarding young Joel's matriculation at Moor's preparatory school in Hanover, N. H., not given by any of the poet's biographers so far as we are aware.

"Mr. Samuel Barlow of Reading, Mass, (Ct.?) brings his son Joel to school. The said son is to officiate as waiter on table at meal time and also to be at the beck of Miss Elizabeth: only in play time and vacations to perform such errands and incidental service as she shall have occasion for in her business, and in consideration of her services and his to have his board, viz: eating, drinking, washing, firewood, candles, study room and tuition."

This Miss Elizabeth Burr was of Fairfield, Conn., near Reading, and came to have charge of Joel, and to "superintend the cooking in commons and manage the prudentials of it." She was probably a relative and did this to aid the boy in getting an education, his father having a family of ten to provide for.

A typical Reading patriot was the Rev. Nathaniel Bartlett who served the Congregational Church there as pastor for fifty-seven years, and who when hostilities broke out brought his sword, freshly ground, to

his son Daniel, and bade him go and defend his country. Another was Lemuel Sanford, who represented Redding at twenty-two sessions of the General Assembly, covering a period of twenty years, served on numerous committees and died a Judge of the County Court.

The greatest patriot of all, and one of the greatest of the historic struggle, William Heron, Mr. Grumman places among the loyalists. This man was an Irishman, born in Cork in 1742, of good family and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He was the intimate personal friend of Lord Howe, and the friend and trusted adviser of Washington and Putnam. Howe's well known leniency toward the Americans was perhaps due to him, and the minute knowledge the patriot chiefs had of the British forces, and the plans of their leaders came largely from him. He was a shrewd, tactful, forceful, brilliant man with all an Irishman's power of blarney, and hating the British as a loyal Irishman should, he yet hoodwinked Sir Henry Clinton, and his Adjutant General, Major Oliver DeLancey, into the belief that he was secretly an adherent of the British cause, and could give them valuable information. For years—with the full knowledge of Washington and Putnam—he maintained a correspondence with them, was allowed to come into the city of New York, was dined and wined by them, went freely about the city, and obtained information of the greatest value to the patriot leaders. What information he gave the British in return was either of no great importance, or would have come to them by some other channel. In Clinton's "Record of Private Intelligence," discovered in London in 1882, and purchased by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet,¹ there are several letters from this man, some of them implicating Major General Samuel H. Parsons, of Connecticut, in treasonable intercourse with the British, but this was only a part of the plot. The career of Heron during the eight years of the war would furnish material for a dozen historical romances. Mr. Grumman prints a letter from Parsons to Washington, dated Apr. 6, 1782 in which he says of him:

"He is a native of Ireland, a man of very large knowledge, and a great share of natural sagacity united with a sound judgment, but of as unmeaning a countenance as any person in my acquaintance. With this appearance he is as little suspected as any man can be. An officer in the department of the Adjutant General is a

¹ See *Magazine of American History*, 1883-84.

countryman and very intimate acquaintance of Mr. Heron, through which channel he has been able frequently to obtain important and very interesting information."

Parsons adds that he knows him to be a consistent National Whig, always in the field in every alarm and in every trial proving himself a man of bravery. Corroborative proof of this view is found in the fact that after the war, instead of being run off to Nova Scotia with the other loyalists, Heron represented Redding in seventeen sessions of the General Assembly, and was given other offices of importance by his townsmen.

A typical loyalist of Redding was John Lyon, a farmer and business man, who owned one hundred acres of land in the town with two houses thereon, beside a half interest in a schooner and much merchandise. This man not only signed the "Reading Resolves," but carried them to Rivington, the King's Printer in New York, who printed them. For this act in March, 1775, he was seized by a mob, ill treated and robbed, and his merchandise at Mill River (now Southport) to the value of five hundred pounds was also seized. The persecution continued until he was obliged to fly to the British lines, where he entered the King's service, aided in raising the "King's Rangers," a loyalist regiment, and acted as guide during the war. At the close of the war he fled to Nova Scotia with his wife and two sons and settled at Kingston.

In his memorial to the King from which the above facts are taken, he estimates his losses at £1,790, and was allowed £290 in satisfaction (?) thereof.

BETHEL, CONN.

CHARLES BURR TODD.



CIVIL WAR SKETCHES.

II.

CONFEDERATE FINANCE IN ALABAMA

SPECIAL APPROPRIATIONS AND SALARIES.

BESESIDES the regular appropriations for the usual expenses of the government, there were many extraordinary appropriations. These, of course, were the war expenses and were far greater than the ordinary expenses. The chief item of these extraordinary appropriations was for the support of the indigent families of soldiers, and for this purpose about \$11,000,000 was provided. For the military defense of the State several million dollars were appropriated, much of this being spent for arms and clothing for the Alabama troops, both in the Confederate and the State service. Money was granted to the University of Alabama and other military schools on condition that they furnish drill masters for the State troops without charge. Hospitals were furnished in Virginia and in Alabama for the Alabama soldiers. The gunboat *Florida* was bought for the defense of Mobile, and \$150,000 was appropriated for an ironclad ram for the same purpose. Loans were made to commanders of regiments to buy clothing for their soldiers, and the State began to furnish clothing, \$50,000 being appropriated at one time for clothing for the Alabama soldiers in Northern prisons. By March 12, 1862, Alabama had contributed \$317,600 to the support of the army of Northern Virginia.²⁸ Much was expended in the manufacture of salt in Alabama and in Virginia, which was sold at cost or given away to the poor; in the purchase of salt from Louisiana to be sold at a low price, and in bounties paid to salt-makers in the State who sold salt at reasonable prices. The State also paid for medical attendance for the indigent families of soldiers. When the records and rolls of the Alabama troops in the Confederate service were lost, money was appropriated to have new ones made. Frequent grants were made to the various benevolent societies of the State whose object was to care for the maimed and sick soldiers, and the widows and orphans. Cotton and wool cards and agricultural implements were purchased and distributed among the poor. Slaves and supplies were taken for the public service and the owners compensated.

²⁸ Jones, *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 114. North Carolina alone had contributed more—\$325,000.

The appropriations for the usual expenses of the government were light, seldom more than twice the appropriations in times of peace, notwithstanding the depreciated currency. The public officers who received stated salaries ranged from \$1,500 to \$4,000 a year in State money. In 1862, the salaries of the professors in the State University were doubled on account of the depreciated currency, the president receiving \$5,000 and each professor \$4,000.²⁴ The members of the General Assembly were more fortunate. In 1864, they received \$15 a day for the time in session, and the clerks of the Legislature, who were disabled soldiers or exempt from service, or were women, were paid the same amount. The salt commissioners drew salaries of \$3,000 a year in 1864 and 1865, though this amount was not sufficient to pay their board for more than six months. Salaries were never increased in proportion to expenses. The compensation, in December, 1864, for capturing a runaway slave was \$25, worth probably 50 cents in coin. For the inaugural expenses of Governor Watts in 1863, \$500 in paper was appropriated.²⁵ Many laws were passed regulating and changing the fees and salaries of public officials. In October, 1864, for example, the salaries of the State officials, tax assessors and collectors, and judges were increased 50%. Besides the general depreciation of the currency, the variations of values in the different sections of the State rendered such changes necessary. In the central part, which was safe for a long time from Union raids, the currency was to the last worth more, and the prices of the necessaries of life were lower, than in the more exposed regions. This fact was taken into consideration by the Legislature when fixing the fees of the State and county officers in the various sections.

TAXATION.

As a result of the policy adopted at the outset of meeting the extraordinary expenses by bond issues,²⁶ the people continued to pay the light taxes levied before the war, and paid them in paper money. Though falling heavily on the salaried and wage-earning classes, it was never a burden upon the agricultural classes, except in the poorest white

²⁴ Clark, *Education in Alabama*, p. 90.

²⁵ Acts of Ala., Dec. 7, 1863.

²⁶ The State authorities considered it inexpedient to levy heavier State taxes. The people had always been opposed to heavy State taxes, but paid county taxes more willingly. So the gift of \$500,000 to the Confederate government in 1861, and the \$2,000,000 war tax of the same year were assumed by the State and bonds were issued.—Stat.-at-Large, Prov. Cong., C. S. A., Feb. 8, 1861; Acts of Ala., Nov. 27, 1861.

counties. The poll tax brought in little revenue. Soldiers were exempt from its payment and from taxation on property to the amount of \$500. The widows and orphans of soldiers had similar privileges. A special tax of 25% on the former rate was imposed on all taxable property in November, 1861, and a year later, by acts of December 9, 1862, a far-reaching scheme of taxation was introduced. Under this poll taxes were levied as follows:

White men, 21 to 60 years.....	\$0 75
Free negro men, 21 to 50 years.....	5 00
Free negro women, 21 to 45 years.....	3 00
Slaves (children to laborers in prime).....	\$0 50 to 2 00
More valuable slaves.....	\$2 00 and up

And other taxes as follows:

Crop liens.....	33½%
Hoarded money.....	1%
Jewelry, plate, furniture.....	½%
Goods sold at auction.....	10%
Imports	2%
Insurance premiums (companies not chartered by State)	2%
Playing cards, pack.....	\$1 00
Gold watches, each.....	1 00
Gold chains, silver watches, clocks.....	50
Articles raffled off.....	10%
Legacies, profits and sales, incomes.....	5%
Profits of Confederate Contractors.....	10%
Wages of Confederate officials.....	10%
Race tracks.....	10%
Billiard tables, each.....	\$150 00
Bagatelle	20 00
Ten-pin alleys, each.....	40 00
Readings and Lectures, each.....	4 00
Peddler	100 00
"Spirit rapper," per day.....	500 00
Saloon Keeper.....	\$40 to 150 00
Daguerreotypist	10 to 100 00
Slave trader, for each slave offered for sale.....	20 00

In 1863 a tax of $37\frac{1}{2}\%$ was laid on Confederate and State bonds not in the hands of the original purchasers;²⁷ $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ was levied on profits of banking, railroad companies, and on evidence of debt; 5% on other profits not included in the act of the year before. The tax on gold and silver was to be paid in gold and silver; on bank notes, in notes; on bonds, in coupons.²⁸ In December 1864, the taxes levied by the laws of 1862 and 1863 were increased by $33\frac{1}{3}\%$. Taxes on gold and silver were to be paid in kind or in currency at its market value.²⁹ This was the last tax levied by the State under Confederate rule. From these taxes the State government was largely supplied.

A number of special laws were passed to enable the county authorities to levy taxes-in-kind or to levy a certain amount in addition to the State tax, for the use of the county. The taxes levied by the State did not bear heavily upon the majority of the people, as nearly all, except the well-to-do and especially the slave owners, were exempt. The constant depreciation of the currency acted, of course, as a tax on the wage earners and salaried classes and on those whose income was derived from government securities.

While the State taxes were felt chiefly by the wealthier agricultural classes and the slave owners, this was not the case with the Confederate taxes. The loans and gifts from the State, the war tax of August 19, 1861, the \$15,000,000 loan, the Produce Loan, and the proceeds of sequestration—all had not availed to secure sufficient supplies. The Produce Loan of 1862 was subscribed to largely in Alabama, the secretary of the Treasury issuing stocks and bonds in return for supplies,³⁰ and \$1,500,000 of the \$15,000,000 loan was raised in the State. Still the Confederate government was in desperate need. The farmers would not willingly sell their produce for currency which was constantly decreasing in value, and, when selling at all, they were forced to charge exorbitant prices because of the high prices charged them for everything by the speculators.³¹ The speculator also ran up the prices of supplies beyond the reach of the government purchasing agents, who had to buy according to the list of prices issued by impression commissioners. So in the spring of 1863, all other expedients were cast aside and the Confederate

²⁷ Another measure aimed at the speculators.

²⁸ Acts of Ala., Dec. 8, 1863.

²⁹ Acts of Ala., Dec. 13, 1864.

³⁰ Pub. Laws, C. S. A., 1st Cong., 1st Sess., Apr. 21, 1862.

³¹ Pollard, *Lost Cause*, p. 427.

government levied the most drastic sort of a tax. No more loans of paper money from the State, no more assumption of war taxes by the State because the people were opposed to any form of direct taxation, no more holding back of supplies by producers and speculators who refused to sell to the Confederate government except for coin—the new law stopped all that.⁸²

First there was a tax of 8% on all agricultural products in hand on July 1, 1863, on salt, wine and liquors, and 1% on all money and credits. Second, an occupation tax ranging from \$50 to \$200 and from 2½% to 20% of their gross sales was levied on bankers, auctioneers, brokers, druggists, butchers, "fakirs," liquor dealers, merchants, pawn-brokers, lawyers, physicians, photographers, brewers, and distillers; hotels paid from \$30 to \$500 and theatres, \$500. Third, there was an income tax of 1% on salaries from \$1,000 to \$1,500 and 2% on all over \$1,500. Fourth, 10% on all trade in flour, bacon, corn, oats, and dry goods during 1863. Fifth, a tax-in-kind, by which each farmer after reserving 50 bushels of sweet and 50 bushels of Irish potatoes, 20 bushels of peas or beans, 100 bushels of corn or 50 bushels of wheat out of his crop of 1863, had to deliver (at a dépôt within eight miles,) out of the remainder of his produce for that year, 10% of all wheat, corn, oats, rye, buckwheat, rice, sweet and Irish potatoes, hay, fodder, sugar, molasses, cotton, wool, tobacco, peas, beans, and peanuts; 10% of all meat killed between April 24, 1863 and March 1, 1864; and 1% of the horses, mules and cattle held on November 1, 1863.⁸³

By this act \$9,500,000 in currency was raised in Alabama. Alabama, with Georgia and North Carolina, furnished two-thirds of the tax-in-kind. Though at first there was some objection to this tax because it bore entirely on the agricultural classes, yet it was a just tax so far as the larger planters were concerned, since the depreciated money had acted as a tax on the wage-earners and salaried classes, who had also some State tax to pay. The tax-in-kind fell heavily upon the families of small farmers in the white counties, who had no negro labor, and who produced no more than the barest necessities of life. To collect the tax required an army of tithe-gatherers, and afforded fine opportunities of escape from military service. The State was divided into districts for the collection of all Confederate taxes, with a State collector at the head. The collection districts were usually counties, following the State division

⁸² Pub. Laws, C. S. A., 1st Cong., 3d Sess., Apr. 24, 1863.

⁸³ See, also, Curry, *Confederate States*, p. 110.

into taxing districts. In 1864, the tobacco tithe was collected by Treasury agents and not by the quartermaster's department, which had formerly collected it.⁸⁴ The tax of April 24, 1863, was renewed on February 17, 1864, and some additional taxes laid as follows:

Real estate and personal property.....	5%
Gold and silverware and jewelry.....	10%
Coin	5%
Credits	5%
Profits on liquors, produce, groceries and dry goods.....	10%

On June 10, 1864, an additional tax of 20% of the tax for 1864 was laid, payable only in Confederate Treasury notes of the new issue. Four days later an additional tax⁸⁵ was levied as follows:

Real estate and personal property and coin.....	5%
Gold and silver ware.....	10%
Profits on liquors, produce, groceries & dry goods.....	30%
Treasury notes of old issue (after January, 1865)	100%

The taxes during the war, State and Confederate, were in all five to ten times those levied before the war. Never were taxes paid more willingly by most of the people,⁸⁶ though at first there was opposition to them. It is probable that the authorities did not in 1861 and 1862 give sufficient consideration to the fact that conditions were much changed, and that in view of the war the people would willingly have paid taxes that they would have rebelled against in times of peace.

Of the tax-in-kind for 1863, \$100,000 was collected in Pickens county alone, one of the poorest in the State. The produce was sent in too freely to be taken care of by the government quartermasters, and, as there was enough on hand for a year or two, much of it was ruined for lack of storage room.⁸⁷ An English traveller in East Alabama in 1864 reported that there was abundance; that the tax-in-kind was working well, and that enough provisions had already been collected for the Western armies of the Confederacy to last until the harvest of 1865.⁸⁸ There

⁸⁴ Pub. Laws, C. S. A., 1st Cong., 4th Sess., Jan. 30, 1864.

⁸⁵ Pub. Laws, C. S. A., 2d Cong., 1st Sess., June 10 and 14, 1864.

⁸⁶ Miller, Alabama, p. 190.

⁸⁷ *New York Times*, Feb. 2, 1864.

⁸⁸ Fitzgerald Ross, *Cities and Camps of the Confederate States*, pp. 237, 238.

were few railroads in the State and the rolling stock on these was scarce and soon worn out. So the supplies gathered by the tax-in-kind law could not be moved. Hundreds of thousands of pounds of beef and bacon, and bushels of corn were piled up in the government warehouses and at the dépôts, while starvation threatened the armies and the people also in districts remote from the railroads or rivers. At the supply centers of Alabama and along the railroads in the Black Belt there were immense stores of provisions. When the war ended, notwithstanding the destruction by raids, great quantities of corn and bacon were seized or destroyed by the Northern troops.³⁹

IMPRESSIONMENT.

The State quite early began to secure supplies by impressment. Salt was probably the first article to which it laid claim. Later the officials were authorized to impress and pay for supplies necessary for the public service. In 1862, the Governor was authorized to impress shoes and leather, and other shoemakers' materials for the use of the army. The Legislature appropriated \$250,000 to pay for impressments under this law.⁴⁰ In case of a refusal to comply with an order of impressment, the sheriff was authorized to summon a *posse comitatus* of not less than twenty men and seize double the quantity first impressed. In such cases no compensation was given.⁴¹ The people resisted the impressment of their property. By a law of October 31, 1862, the Governor was empowered to impress slaves, and tools and teams for them to work with, in the public service against the enemy, and \$1,000,000 was appropriated to pay the owners.⁴² Slaves were regularly impressed by the Confederate officials acting in co-operation with the State authorities, for work on fortifications and for other public service. Several thousand were at work at Mobile at various times. They were secured usually by requisition on the State government, which then impressed them. In December, 1864, Alabama was asked for 2,500 negroes for the Confederate service.⁴³ The people were morbidly sensitive about their slave property and there was much discontent at the impressment of slaves even though they were

³⁹ Miller, p. 230.

⁴⁰ Acts of Ala., Nov. 19, 1862.

⁴¹ Acts of Ala., Nov. 17, 1862.

⁴² Acts of Ala., Oct. 31, 1862.

⁴³ O. R., Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 933; G. O., No. 86, A. and I. G. Office, Richmond, Dec. 12, 1864; Miller, pp. 198, 199, Beverly, *Hist. of Alabama*; A. C. Gordon, in *Century Magazine*, Sept., 1888; David Dodge, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Aug., 1886.

paid for. As the war drew to a close, the people were less and less willing to have their servants impressed.

In the spring of 1863, the Confederate Congress authorized the impressment of private property for public use.⁴⁴ The Confederate President and the Governor each appointed an agent, and these together fixed the prices to be paid for the property taken.⁴⁵ Every two months they published schedules of prices, which were always below the market prices.⁴⁶ Evidently impressment had been going on for some time, for, in November, 1862, Judge Dargan, member of Congress from Alabama, wrote to the President that the people from the country were afraid to bring produce to Mobile for fear of seizure by the government. In November, 1863, the Secretary of War issued an order that no supplies should be impressed when held by a person for his own consumption or that of his employees or slaves, or while being carried to market for sale, except in urgent cases and by order of a commanding general. Consequently the land was filled with agents buying a year's supply for railroad companies, individuals, manufactories, and corporations, relief associations, towns, and counties—all these to be protected from impressment. Most speculators always had their goods "on the way to market for sale." The great demand caused prices to rise suddenly, and the government, which had to buy by scheduled prices, could not compete with private purchasers; yet it could not legally impress. There was much abuse of the impressment law, especially by unauthorized persons. It was the source of much lawless conduct on the part of many who claimed to be Confederate officials, with authority to impress.⁴⁷ The Legislature frequently protested against the manner of execution of the law. In 1863, a State law was passed which indicates that the people had been suffering from the depredations of thieves who pretended to be Confederate officials in order to get supplies. It was made a penal offense in 1862 and again in 1863, with from one to five years' imprisonment and \$500 to \$5,000 fine, to falsely represent oneself as a Confederate agent, contractor or official.⁴⁸ The merchants of Mobile protested against the

⁴⁴ Pub. Laws, C. S. A., 1st Cong., 3d Sess., Mar. 26, 1863.

⁴⁵ A Conference of Impressment Commissioners met in Augusta, Ga., Oct. 26, 1863. Among those present were Wylie W. Mason, of Tuskegee, Ala., and Robert C. Farris, of Montgomery, Ala.—See O. R., Ser. IV, Vol. II, pp. 898-906.

⁴⁶ Schwab, p. 202; Saunders, *Early Settlers*. Schedules were printed in all the newspapers, and many have been reprinted in the Official Records.

⁴⁷ Jones, *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 194; Miller, *Alabama*, pp. 198, 199; Pollard, *Lost Cause*, pp. 487-488.

⁴⁸ Acts of Ala., Nov. 25, 1863.

impressment of sugar and molasses; it would cause prices to double, they said.⁴⁹ There was much complaint from sufferers who were never paid by the Confederate authorities for the supplies impressed. Army quartermasters would sometimes seize the necessary supplies and would leave with the army before settling accounts with the citizens, the latter often being left without any proof of their claim. In North Alabama, especially, where the armies never tarried long at a place, the complaint was greatest. To do away with this abuse resulting from carelessness, the Secretary of War appointed agents in each Congressional district to receive proof of claims for forage and supplies impressed.⁵⁰ The State wanted a Confederate law passed to authorize receipts for supplies to be given as part of the tax-in-kind.⁵¹ The unequal operation of the impressment system may be seen in the case of Clarke and Monroe counties. In the former, from sixteen persons, property amounting to \$1,700 was impressed. In Monroe, from thirty-seven persons, \$60,000 worth was taken. The delay in payment was so long that it was practically worthless when received.⁵²

⁴⁹ Jones, *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 302.

⁵⁰ Pub. Laws, C. S. A., 2d Cong., 1st Sess., June 14, 1864; Saunders, *Early Settlers*.

⁵¹ Resolutions of General Assembly, Nov. 26, 1864.

⁵² Ball, Clarke County, p. 501.

(Concluded next month.)



THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CONDITIONS IN THE ROYAL COLONY OF NEW YORK.

CHAPTER I

THE PRESS IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

IMEDIATELY on the introduction of printing the Church assumed towards it an attitude at once intimate and watchful. Since all that affected the welfare of the mind and the health of the soul was of importance to the Church, it was not at all surprising that the demand was at once made that nothing should be put forth by the press save that which had received the sanction—the “Imprimatur”—of the Diocesan authority, or later of the official delegated by the personal representative of the Papacy. The rules that were laid down for the direction of the printer were full and explicit, and no resistance seems to have been attempted at the period of the Reformation in England, the power of supervision over all forms of printing passed from the hands of the Church to the civil authority. This followed naturally from the theory that the King, as Head of the Church, inherited all rights of oversight in matters of opinion and morals formerly pertaining to the Pope, and exercised in England by the Bishops in his name. The Henrician and Elizabethan Bishops still gave the “Imprimatur,” but it was now as representing the King. The fact of publication without authority was in itself a crime deserving of severe punishment.¹

A further step in the restriction of printing was the establishment (in line with the general tendencies of the time), of monopolies by patent. In 1557 the Stationers’ Company was formed of ninety-seven London stationers, and to it was committed the sole right to print books licensed by the proper authority.² As representing the Sovereign, the Star Chamber exercised a supervision over the manner in which the law was carried out; in 1559 it ordered that all books were to read by a Bishop or a mem-

¹ May, *Constitutional History* II, p. 103.

² Collier, *Essay on the Law of Patents, and General History of Monopolies*.

ber of the Privy Council before going to the press, and in 1586 gave permission for a printing press to be set up in each University, the licenser in this case being the Vice Chancellor. In the same year the Star Chamber ordered that all books were to be read and licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London, with the exception of law books where were to be read by the Chief Justice of either Bench or the Lord Chief Baron.

Proclamations issued by Queen Elizabeth from time to time,³ indicate the difficulty found in enforcing this monopoly and requirement of licensing, and a proclamation issued by Elizabeth⁴ against " bringing into the realm unlawful books " indicates that the statute of Henry VIII⁵ repealing the permission given in the reign of Richard III to import books from abroad⁶ was being systematically disregarded. Attorney-general Popham gives witness to the same effect when in his speech before the Star Chamber in the prosecution of Sir R. Knightley and others he says, " Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, in her great wisdom, hath issued proclamations that no pamphlets or treatises should be put in print but such as should first be seen and allowed; and further, lest that were not sufficient, she ordained that no printing should be used anywhere but in London, Oxford, or Cambridge. Notwithstanding all this served not, but they would print in corners and spread abroad things unprinted: wherefore Her Majesty set forth a proclamation *in anno 25* that all Brownist books, and such other seditious books should be suppressed and burnt.⁷

The Star Chamber continued to exercise control over printing during the reign of James I, but with increasing difficulty, not lessened by the arbitrary and cruel ways in which it acted towards those whom it believed to be breaking its rules and regulations. The flood of books printed abroad continued into the reign of Charles I, and in 1637 we find a Star Chamber decree, " for reducing the number of master-printers, and punishing all others that should follow the trade, and for prohibiting as well the impression of all new books without license, and of such as have been licensed formerly without a new one, as the importation of all books in the English tongue, printed abroad, and of all foreign books whatever,

³ 12 Eliz. 15 Eliz. 18 Eliz. 21 Eliz. 25 Eliz. 26 Eliz. 31 Eliz and 43 Eliz.

⁴ 11 Eliz.

⁵ 25 H. VIII, c. 15, Sect. 1.

⁶ 1 R. III, c. 9. Sect. 12.

⁷ State Trials, Vol. I, p. 1263.

till a true catalogue has been presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, and the books themselves had been received by their chaplains, or other learned men of their appointment, together with the masters and wardens of the Stationers' Company." A printer disobeying this order was to be fined, disabled from printing thereafter and the printing press forfeited.

The quarrel between Charles I and the Long Parliament resulted in the abolition of the Star Chamber, but the only result, as far as the press was concerned, was a change in masters, the Crown giving place to Parliament. From time to time orders were issued by the Parliament⁸ similar in tone to those of the Star Chamber. One dated June 14, 1643, directs that "no book, pamphlet, paper, nor part of any such book, pamphlet, or paper, shall from henceforth be printed, bound, stitched, or put out to sale, by any person or persons whatsoever unless the same be first approved and licensed under the hands of such persons as both, or either, of the Houses, shall appoint for licensing of the same, and be entered in the Register Book of the Company of Stationers, according to ancient custom, and the printer thereof shall put his name thereto." It was in reply to this action by Parliament that Milton produced in 1644 his "Areopagitica," that matchless plea for freedom of speech and the liberty of the press. "We should be wary therefore," he writes, "what persecution we raise against the living labours of public men, how we spill that seasoned life of man, preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at the ethereal and fifth essence, the breath of reason itself; slays an immortality rather than a life."⁹

But these stirring words fell on ears dulled by the clamor of contending battalions. It is true that from time to time a report of proceedings in Parliament appeared under the title of "Diurnal Occurrences in Parliament," but in general Parliament was ever ready to crush at its first appearance any spirit considered by the members to be dangerous to constituted authority. On Sept. 30, 1647, Parliament, at the instigation of Fairfax, passed an ordinance, "for the better regulation of printing," by which the restrictions were increased and a licenser appointed to whom before printing, all manuscripts had to be presented for approbation.

⁸ Mar. 9, 1642; June 14, 1643; Sept. 21, 1647.

⁹ *Areopagitica*, II, 55.

With the Restoration of Charles II the control of the press was continued by means of the Licensing Act of 1662, passed several times for periods of two years, finally expiring in 1679.¹⁰ This was essentially a republication of the Star Chamber order of 1637, but since the Star Chamber no longer existed the scene was changed from that Court to the Old Bailey. In 1679, at the trial of Henry Carr,¹¹ indicted for some passages in a weekly paper, the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs declared it criminal at common law to "write on the subject of government, whether in terms of praise or censure, it is not material; for no man has a right to say anything of government." In 1685, on the accession of James II, the Licensing Act was passed for a period of seven years, and in 1692, (during the reign of William and Mary), it was renewed for one year and the session of the following Parliament. In 1695 the House of Commons refused to again pass it, and in this way the Act expired, never to be renewed, and the press was placed on a footing of equality before the law with all other trades and occupations. And yet, as has been well pointed out by Macaulay,¹² the reasons given by the Parliament for their action did not in any way touch on the question of the rightfulness of a free press, but rather dealt with certain complaints in regard to the provisions of the law and the mode of application. "This paper," he writes, "completely vindicates the resolution to which the Commons had come. But it proves at the same time that they knew not what they were doing, what a power they were calling into existence. They pointed out concisely, clearly, forcibly, and sometimes with a grave irony which is not unbecoming, the absurdities and iniquities of the statute which was about to expire. But all their objections will be found to relate to matters of detail. On the great question of principle, on the question whether the liberty of unlicensed printing be, on the whole, a blessing or a curse to society, not a word is said. The Licensing Act is condemned, not as a thing essentially evil, but on account of the petty grievances, the exactions, the jobs, the commercial restrictions, the domiciliary visits, which were incidental to it. It is pronounced mischievous because it enables the Company of Stationers to extort money from publishers, because it empowers agents of the government to search houses under the authority of general warrants, because it confines the foreign book trade to the port of London, because it detains packages of books at the Custom House till the pages are mildewed. The Commons complain that the

¹⁰ 13 and 14 Car. II, c. 33; 16 Car. II, c. 8; 16 and 17 Car. II, c. 7; 17 Car. II, c. 4.

¹¹ Carr's Case, State Trials VII, 929.

¹² Macaulay, Hist. Eng. Chap. xxi.

amount of the fee which the licensers may demand is not fixed. They complain that it is made penal in an officer of the Customs to open a box of books from abroad, except in the presence of one of the censors of the press. How, it is very sensibly asked, is the officer to know that there are books in the box until he has opened it?" Such were the arguments which did what Milton's "Areopagitica" had failed to do. But what we mean to-day by the term, the liberty of the press, is much more than the mere right to print without a previous application to a censor. The position which the press holds in this generation is the result of a slow but steady growth. After the refusal by Parliament to renew the Licensing Act the courts still did their best to prevent the reaping of any benefit from this. Newspaper reporting, and especially the reporting of Parliamentary debates was frowned on by Bench and Parliament alike. In 1722 the House of Commons passed the resolution "That no printer or publisher of any printed newspaper do presume to insert in any such papers any debates or other proceedings of this house or any committee thereof" and when Edward Cave in 1731 began to publish in his "Gentleman's Magazine" a report of the debates he had to resort to the fiction of a "Senate of Great Lilliput" and even then lived in continual fear of prosecution.

As time passed Parliamentary reporting came to be tactily recognized, but the law of libel still retained all its terrors. Bentham told the truth when he said "Anything which any man for any reason, chooses to be offended with is libel." Lord Mansfield in the case of Henry Sampson Woodfall, prosecuted for publishing a seditious libel, enunciated the theory that the work of the jury began and ended with deciding the fact as to whether the accused was or was not responsible for the publication of the matter complained of, the crown, through the court, to decide whether the matter was libellous. For twenty years the question was fought over, and at last in 1791, Fox having changed his views in the matter, introduced his famous bill to amend the law of libel, and in 1792 the bill became law. The importance of this act can hardly be overestimated. After stating that "doubts have risen whether on the trial of an indictment or information for the making and publishing any libel, where an issue or issues are joined between the king and the defendant or defendants, on the plea of not guilty pleaded it be competent to the jury empanelled to try the same to give their verdict upon the whole matter in issue." It goes on to enact that "the jury may give a general verdict of guilty or not guilty upon the whole matter in issue, and shall

not be required or directed by the court or judge to find the defendant guilty merely in the proof of the publication by such defendant of the paper charged to be a libel, and of the sense ascribed to it in the indictment or information." In the same spirit Judge Fitzgerald told a jury¹³ " You are the sole judges of the guilt or innocence of the defendant. The judges are here to give any help they can; but the jury are the judges of law and fact, and on them rests the whole responsibility."

Thus the idea of legal restrictions on the press passes away, and the law of libel becomes a law of the press in any case where defamation or false report is charged, and to a jury is committed the task of deciding whether the statement made was justified and proper. As Prof. Dicey aptly puts it,¹⁴ " freedom of discussion is, then, in England, little else than the right to write or say anything which a jury, consisting of twelve shopkeepers, think it expedient should be said or written. . . . Whether in any particular case a given individual is to be convicted of libel depends wholly on their judgment, and they have to determine the questions of truth, fairness, intention, and the like, which affect the legal character of a published statement."

But this point of view, which is the position in England, and to a large extent in our own land, has not been reached without a struggle, and it is to that struggle, so far as it was carried on in the American Colonies, that we must now turn our attention.

¹³ *Rex v. Sullivan*, II Cox. C. C. 52.

¹⁴ A. V. Dicey, *The Law of the Constitution*, p. 242.

LIVINGSTON ROWE SCHUYLER.

NEW YORK CITY.

(*To be continued.*)

THE AUTOGRAPH

UNPUBLISHED POEM BY THOMAS DUNN ENGLISH

[The MS. was sold in New York recently.]

SOME hunt the tiger in his jungle deep,
Some chase the altitudinous giraffe,
Some fight the grizzly bear on mountain steep
And all of these their cup of pleasure quaff.
But fiercer rapture theirs who forward leap
To meet the grim, ferocious Autograph.
A terrible brute! but not so dangerous when
The prudent author keeps him in his—pen.

THE THIRTIETH OF MAY.

[Uncle John in the Cemetery, after the Decoration]

THESE are not all!
Here by the wall
Is the grave of one who died in the war,
Though her body hadn't a wound nor scar.
Her hope and heart was broken, when
 In a mass o' men
Her lover fell in a pool of gore
 With the flag he bore.
Her life and her love together fled
 When he was dead.
Any vi'lets left, girls? Let them fall
 Here by the wall.

These are not all!
Go back, and call
The boys that carry the evergreen.
Here is a grave you men hain't seen.
It's old man Brown's. His heart clean broke
'Most as if he was women-folk.
He had five sons—his wife was dead—
Nothin' could keep 'em to home, he said.
An' every last one o' that whole lot
 Had to get shot!
Th' old man hadn't no grit, no pride—
 Jest up and died!
Lay the evergreen softly down
Over the grave of old man Brown.

These are not all!
Let lilies fall
Here on this wee small grave in the shade.
I can remember the day we laid
The Captain's baby in this green spot.
Cap. he was shot.

An' some fool neighbor made haste to tell
The Captain's widder the news, and—well,
Down she went in a faint—jest fell!
And it killed the baby. She lived on,
Health and reason forever gone.

Lay lilies here.
Was that a tear?—
I went to the war myself that year.

Put roses here.
This grave is dear—
She was my sister. The truest heart,
Always ready to do her part.
Gave up *her* son
When the first gun
Thundered at Sumter! She had but one.
An' *she* died, when
(With stronger men)
He starved to death in a prison pen.
(The boy she had fed, and clothed, and kissed,
An' done for, so that he hardly missed
His father—dead when he was a child.)
She never smiled.
She loved red roses when we was small;
Here let them fall.
We honor the soldiers; but they ain't all!

MRS. E. M. ADAMS.

MOUND CITY, KANSAS.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE SOUTHWEST AND THEIR PRESERVATION

THOSE who are studying the history of civilization on the American Continent realize that the subject presents many and intricate problems which can not be solved in this generation. Accordingly, to preserve the material on which this study is based for the use of future generations, is as important as are present investigations.

The title of this paper suggests two classes of material to be considered. The historian will be concerned principally with the remains that mark the advance of the Caucasian race. The remains of the indigenous tribes interest the ethno-archæologist.

To a country so poor in archives as ours is, the possession of numerous historic monuments, landmarks and remains of structures where history has been made is especially fortunate and their preservation doubly important. For a nation to cherish its own history, live in the heroic and righteous acts of its past, is to conserve its vitality and independence.

In the majority of the States we find a moderate degree of enthusiasm for historic sites; sufficient at least to afford them adequate protection and insure their preservation. Some far-seeing societies are alive to the significance of the historic highways that penetrated the American wilderness and are marking them with permanent milestones. A notable example of this is the marking of the "Old Santa Fe Trail" by the people of Kansas—a movement in which Colorado and New Mexico might well join. The determination of Coronado's line of march has occupied the attention of careful students for many years and we may hope at some future time to see positively determined sites on this historic way permanently marked and recorded.

The significance of our frontier has not been recognized except in social science. Fortunately its advance is well marked. The movement of the military frontier is preserved in monuments and military post buildings throughout the west. Court-house corner stones record the advance of law and order, we may say, the legal frontier—its earliest landmarks in the far west in the form of prominent trees, high bridges,

and projecting beams, being pointed out with modest pride by the early inhabitants as memorials of Judge Lynch and the Vigilantes. The progress of education and religion is marked by record stones upon the public edifices devoted to these uses. The importance of all these records should be more generally recognized. Whenever a modern structure is to succeed an antiquated public building, the old record stone should invariably be preserved and reset in some conspicuous place. Future students of history and social sciences will see in these the ancient shore-lines of American social development.

The military-religious frontier of the Spanish-American civilization moved from south to north. Its limits are marked by the quaint old mission churches of New Mexico and California. Some of these buildings are still in the hands of the Church, in use and kept in repair. Some are on the sites of long-abandoned Pueblo Indian villages, at the mercy of the elements and the vandals. In California these splendid old landmarks are being cared for by the organized efforts of thinking people and we need give ourselves no concern as to their preservation. Not so in New Mexico. Here we have ruins of five of the oldest historic structures of which any vestiges remain on the soil of the United States, all dating from the first half of the 17th century; all abandoned yet nobly resisting the elements. These are the ruins of the mission churches at the abandoned pueblos of Pecos in western San Miguel county; Giusewa in the Jemez valley near Perea; Tabira, popularly known as "Gran Quivira" in northeastern Socorro county, and Abo and Cuaray in eastern Valencia county.

A peculiarly interesting class of ruins is that of the pueblo villages that were occupied at the time of the coming of the Spaniards and abandoned during the next century. Archæological work in such sites should yield valuable results by disclosing the first influences of the exotic civilization upon the indigenous tribes. Noteworthy sites of this character are those near Zuni and a number of the Rio Grande Valley.

The Southwest is rich in historic sites, but in prehistoric remains its wealth is practically limitless. It is with these that we shall deal principally in this paper.

The distribution of the indigenous tribes of America was determined primarily by drainage; that is to say, the food quest was the chief concern of primitive man. First of all, he sought food and water, and we can readily see that, of these two, water was first in importance. Where

water was, there food was likely to be. Game frequented water courses. Plant food depended upon moisture. Now in the southwest, water was scarce, consequently no other portion of the United States was so poor in game. Hunting tribes, therefore, shunned its desert wastes. Their frontiers were the Pecos valley in eastern New Mexico, practically the western limit of the buffalo, and the divide running east and west across southern Colorado and Utah, separating the San Juan, south of which lay the arid region, from the splendid hunting ranges on the north which extended from ocean to ocean except where broken by the Utah and Nevada deserts. There was thus a tract of country bounded on the east by the Pecos river, on the north by the San Juan, extending west to the Colorado and south to the Gila in which aridity was the dominant climatic condition. Being poor in game, it was not until comparatively recent times that it was much frequented by nomadic Indians. Comaches, Utes, Navajos and Apaches had no use for this region until it was occupied by some one whom they could dispossess of wealth. Primitive economic systems are not unlike those of civilized men. In both states of culture, wealth is acquired in two ways, namely, by producing it and by dispossessing others of it. Savages and civilians naturally divide into two great classes, the productive and the predatory. It is a far cry from the murderously straightforward method of the Apache to the highly specialized up-to-date commercial system, or even the comparatively direct methods of modern politics, but the difference is merely in technique. Now in the absence of game and of victims for robbery, the first settlers of that arid region were driven to produce their living by agriculture. This could only be successfully done by irrigation. Accordingly lines of migration followed water ways and springs. Moreover, this condition was conducive to a comparatively sedentary life, and this leads to permanent home building.

Now the region under consideration embraces all of New Mexico and Arizona, southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah, and is comprised within four principal drainage areas, viz: the Rio Grande, the San Juan, the Little Colorado, and the Gila, the last three being tributary to the Colorado. Over this area physiographic conditions are quite uniform and the indigenous tribes now inhabiting it likewise; not as to linguistic stock, but in general and specific culture. By indigenes I mean the various sedentary tribes generally called Pueblos as distinguished from the intrusive Utes, Navajos and Apaches, which tribes came in chiefly for predatory reasons after the indigenous tribes had acquired sufficient property

to make them desirable prey. This indigenous culture was doubtless composite as to blood and the uniformity developed was the natural result of living for a long period of time under definite uniform environmental conditions. Its primary migration movement was from south to north, but branching in all directions, and the almost countless prehistoric ruins following the water-courses of the southwest are the remains of these early migrations.

The present sedentary Indians of the southwest, called by us Pueblos, are thus the true indigenes of that arid region so far as we can judge from existing evidences. All presumption of earlier or different races is purely hypothetical, as yet unsupported by any shadow of evidence. These primitive agriculturists became builders of more or less permanent houses, dependent always upon the permanence of the water supply. The character of their habitations was usually determined by geological environment. The characteristic style of architecture evolved was the multiple-chambered stone structure that we call the *pueblo*. The earliest of these were comparatively small, single-storied dwellings of an indefinite number of rooms rarely exceeding fifty, scattered about over the arable areas. The ruins of these to be found in the southwest are quite uncountable. Later, as predatory neighbors multiplied and the people crowded together for mutual aid the enormous hives of hundreds of cells came into existence. These were often carried to a height of five or six stories. At the same time and for the same reason another style of habitation came into existence, namely, the cliff-dwelling. Its type was always determined by geological conditions. If ledges difficult of access and protected by overhanging cliffs could be found, dwellings were built upon them, not differing structurally from pueblos. If the cliffs presented only perpendicular faces, and were of comparatively soft material, dwellings were excavated in them, single or multiple-chambered, and thus strongly defensive homes established.

Thus we have in the southwest a most fortunate situation for the archæologist. The ruins are of such a character and so situated as to resist the action of the weather, and the climate singularly adapted to the preservation of not only the buildings, but also the more perishable remains. So completely did the indigenous culture overspread the area in question that there is not a waterway of any consequence from the Pecos to the Colorado and from the San Juan to the Gila that is without numerous ruins. They are distributed along not less than a hundred valleys in New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and Utah. In a paper and

map prepared recently for the use of the Department of the Interior, I have indicated the distribution of the ruins over the four general drainage-areas, the Rio Grande, the San Juan, the Little Colorado, the Gila, and as a tentative scheme have shown how they may be grouped into twenty archæological districts. (This grouping has no ethnological significance.)

The districts are grouped as follows:

I. The Rio Grande Basin:

1. Pajarito Park district.
2. Pecos Pueblo district.
3. Gran Quivira district.
4. Jemez district.
5. Acoma district.

II. The San Juan Basin:

1. Aztec district.
2. Mesa Verde district.
3. Chaco Cañon district.
4. Cañon de Chelly district.
5. Bluff district.

III. The Little Colorado Basin:

1. Tusayan district.
2. Flagstaff district.
3. Holbrook district.
4. Zuñi district.

IV. The Gila Basin:

1. Rio Verde district.
2. San Carlos district.
3. Lower Gila district.
4. Middle Gila district.
5. Upper Gila district.
6. San Francisco River district.

Following is a brief memorandum showing the extent of each district:

I. RIO GRANDE BASIN.

This culture area, lying wholly in New Mexico, embraces the Rio Grande Valley with its tributaries from Ojo Caliente on the

north to Socorro on the south and from Acoma on the west to the plains east of the Manzano Mountains.

II. SAN JUAN BASIN.

The ruins of the San Juan Basin consist of both large and small communal houses and true cliff dwellings in great numbers. They are scattered in numerous, irregular groups over the contiguous portions of New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Arizona. All the ruins of the San Juan and its tributaries have suffered much from destructive collectors.

III. LITTLE COLORADO BASIN.

This extensive region embraced in the valley of the Little Colorado and its tributaries is pre-eminently a region of pueblo ruins, though some cave dwellings are found. It is especially rich in prehistoric pottery. Because of its wealth of relics this region has suffered more than any other from the traffic in prehistoric wares. However, we are fortunate in that Dr. J. Walter Fewkes of the Bureau of American Ethnology has made the districts of the Little Colorado a subject of research for many years. His voluminous reports on this region have put us in possession of a vast amount of information on the archæology and ethnology of the Southwest. His collections from Sikyatki for the National Museum, made in 1895, with the assistance of Mr. F. W. Hodge of the Smithsonian Institution, together with the collections made from the Holbrook district by Doctors Fewkes and Hough, form, probably, the most valuable collection of prehistoric pottery in existence. Another extensive collection of pottery from this region may be seen in the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago.

IV. GILA BASIN.

This is another region that embraces practically every species of prehistoric ruins. It is of vast extent and comprises, besides the valley of the Gila proper, the large valleys of the Salt and Verde rivers. As a seat of prehistoric culture it was one of the most extensive and populous. Many ruins of these three great valleys are on irrigible lands, and, accordingly, have disappeared with the advancement of agriculture.

It would not be possible within the limits set for this paper to describe the ruins of each of these twenty districts, but we may point out briefly the principal features of one district in each drainage area.

I. PAJARITO PARK DISTRICT.

This district lies between the Rio Grande on the east and the Jemez Mountains on the west, and extends from Ojo Caliente on the north to Cochiti on the south. In the northern part are the ruins of Homayo, Houiri (Ho-we-re), and Pose on Ojo Caliente Creek. Ten miles west, below El Rito, is the large ruin of Sepawi (Se-paw-we). Near the village of Abiquiu, on the Rio Chama, is the important ruin of Tsiwari (Tsi-wa-re). These are all pueblo ruins, and not well preserved.

The central portion of the district is the Pajarito Park proper, the region that has for some years been under withdrawal by the General Land Office and favorably reported on for a national park, for which it has many advantages, being of great scenic beauty, accessible, and one of the richest in the Southwest in well-preserved prehistoric remains. It contains innumerable cavate houses, a vast number of small pueblo ruins, and the ruins of the great communal dwellings of Puye, Otowi, Tsankiwi (Tsan-ke-we), Navakwi (Nav-a-kwe), and Pajarito or Tchrega. Vandalism has greatly diminished among these ruins since the park has been under withdrawal.

In the southern part of this district, between the Rito de los Frijoles and Cochiti, are the ruins of six pueblos, and a considerable number of cavate houses, the interesting Cueva Pintada (painted cave), and the famous shrines known as the "Stone Lions of Potrero de las Vacas and Potrero de los Idolos."

2. MESA VERDE DISTRICT.

In this district are the finest specimens of true cliff dwellings. They are very numerous in the cañons of Mesa Verde and along the Mancos River. Cliff Palace is justly one of the most famous works of prehistoric man in existence. Numerous pueblo and cliff ruins are distributed along the McElmo, the Yellowjacket and the Hovenweep. On the whole, this is one of the most interesting of all prehistoric districts. A portion of it is under withdrawal by the General Land Office, pending the creation of the Colorado Cliff Dwellings National Park. The intelligent interest of the people of Colorado

has done much toward the preservation of these ruins. However, the entire district has suffered much from vandalism, a majority of the burial mounds having been destroyed. A national park in this region would be of great educational value.

3. ZUÑI DISTRICT.

This region is rich in both historic and prehistoric ruins. On Zuñi Reservation are the ruins of the historic seven cities of Cibola. El Morro, or Inscription Rock, is an interesting historic monument east of Zuñi which is under temporary withdrawal by the General Land Office. The region south of Zuñi to Quemado is known to be full of ruins, and traders are securing large collections of pottery therefrom at the present time. The ruins of Zuñi have been thoroughly made known to us through the work of the Hemenway expedition, under the direction of the late Frank Hamilton Cushing, assisted by Mr. F. W. Hodge. The collections of this expedition are now in the Peabody Museum at Harvard University. Other important researches have been made in the Zuñi district by Doctor Fewkes.

4. RIO VERDE DISTRICT.

On the northern tributaries of the Rio Verde are many cliff ruins. Of these, Honanki and Palatki are the most important. They are within the limits of the San Francisco Mountains Forest Reserve. There are numerous cliff ruins along Oak Creek and Beaver Creek and their tributaries. Near Camp Verde is the ruin known as "Montezuma Castle," and a little farther up Beaver Creek, on the Black Mesa Forest Reserve, is the interesting Montezuma well. Mr. Mindeleff and Doctor Fewkes have made important studies and reports on the ruins of this district.

Fortunately not less than nine-tenths of the prehistoric ruins of the Southwest are on lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States; that is, they are on Forest Reserves, on unreserved public lands and on Indian Reservations.

By virtue of Section 441, U. S. Revised Statutes, the care and custody of the public lands is vested in the Secretary of the Interior, and Section 453 declares that the Commissioner of the General Land Office shall perform under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior all executive duties in anywise respecting such lands. There can be no ques-

tion that this statute lays upon the Department of the Interior and the General Land Office the obligation to protect the archæological remains that are upon the public lands as definitely as it does the timber and other values.

In the exercise of the power thus conferred a policy has grown up in the Department of the Interior that should be more widely understood. This policy mobilizes, so to speak, the entire force of forest supervisors, rangers, special agents, Indian school superintendents and teachers, Indian agents, farmers and police, and even the Indians themselves, in the protection of these ruins as one of their regular duties, for the avowed purpose of preserving them for scientific investigation. It establishes the liberal policy that any competent scientist who desires to place the material secured in a public museum will be authorized by the Department of the Interior to examine ruins, but that no person will be permitted to excavate them for the purpose of acquiring specimens for traffic or private gain, and that wilful destruction of historic and prehistoric landmarks must cease. The most zealous archæologist must admit that this leaves little to be desired. The main thing, a system of governmental protection for archæological remains, is an accomplished fact. All the available forces of the Department are being wisely utilized. The scientific branch of the Government is lending its aid by furnishing as called upon the needed information concerning sites that are of value to science. Especially noteworthy is the emphasis habitually laid by the Commissioner of the General Land Office on "*the importance of furthering in every way possible researches with a view to increasing the knowledge of such objects and aiding in the general advancement of archæological science.*" This is administrative policy that every scientific man can uphold with most cordial enthusiasm.

Let us now consider the question of legislation relative to archæological remains. Three bills touching this subject will receive attention at the hands of the present Congress. Two of these are bills for the creation of national parks. One embraces the famous pueblo-like cliff dwellings of Mesa Verde, Colorado; the other includes the great district of pueblo ruins and excavated cliff dwellings known as Pajarito Park near Santa Fe, New Mexico. These bills are worthy of the strongest support, not only from the standpoint of historic and scenic preservation, but because of the educational value of the opening up of these interesting districts to the traveling public. Both bills are thoughtfully prepared, provide for the preservation and care of the ruins, and that, with the permission of the

Secretary of the Interior, excavations may be conducted by properly qualified persons in the interests of science. These are districts of magnificent scenery, embracing less than two townships each, of non-mineral, non-agricultural lands. No rights whatever will be encroached upon, not a settler disturbed. I know of no reason whatever for opposition to either of these bills. They have the support of the people of Colorado and New Mexico, and their passage is urged by the Department of the Interior, the General Land Office having officially examined and favorably recommended both districts for the purposes specified.

The other bill referred to is of much greater importance since it is a general measure touching not only the preservation of archæological remains but affecting the whole field of archæological research. Such bills should receive the most critical scrutiny of those who are engaged in archæological work and know the field. This bill was introduced at the last session of Congress as H. R. 13478 by Congressman John F. Lacey of Iowa. The bill originated in the Department of the Interior. It grows out of the practical experience of the General Land Office in dealing with this subject. It is based on a knowledge of the situation and all the administrative problems involved. It is technically well drawn and exactly along the broad commendable lines of the policy of the department as above set forth. It is in fact an outgrowth of the operation of that policy, the crystalization of which into legislative enactment is now prayed for. Through repeated official declarations and acts we know in what manner the powers conferred in the bill will be administered. The reasons for desiring this enactment are set forth in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for 1904. Since it is clear that the measure has for its motive the advancement of archæological science and since it emanates from the department that has learned the necessities of the case by long experience and will be charged with its administration, it manifestly should receive the support of the scientific forces unless on examination it is found inadequate. It has been widely published and is the only bill that has been drawn for the purpose that has not met with pronounced objections. I trust that this Society¹ will give serious consideration to the measure and, if it meets with your approval, send at the proper time a strong expression of that approval to the National Congress.

¹ Read before the Am. Scenic and Hist. Pres. Soc'y. N. Y.

EDGAR L. HEWETT.

NATIONAL MUSEUM, WASHINGTON.

JOHN PAUL JONES' FELLOW OFFICERS

SO much public interest has been aroused in the United States by the discovery of the body of John Paul Jones in Paris, and so many misleading and confusing statements have been published about his career that it is desirable to understand just what was the part he played in the naval struggle for independence, and what is the value of his services as compared with those rendered by his compatriots on the high seas. Jones, unquestionably, stood head and shoulders over his brother officers in the service of the Revolution; yet there were some who pressed him rather closely in the award of honors concerning whose deeds comparatively little is known.

Captain Jones was a prolific chronicler of his own doings and left invaluable records of his truly brilliant achievements. This is mentioned not in the least to detract from the credit so justly due him (for it is the more to his honor that, in the rough-and-tumble calling he espoused, he found time to cultivate one of the "polite arts," then generally deemed unnecessary in his profession), but to explain why it is that so little is known of what his brother captains accomplished in the same period. Our navy officers of the Revolution were bred, as a rule, in the hard school of experience, and, to most of them, the task of writing was about as distasteful as taking a dose of unpalatable medicine. The result has

[It was our hope to have printed an account of the finding of John Paul Jones' body, written by General Horace Porter, but the General wrote us from Paris May 22:

"I knew very well Mrs. Lamb's Magazine, and would be very happy to be a contributor to yours, but am so pressed by the winding up of my duties here, and the finishing of the translations of French experts and scientists, etc., on the Paul Jones matter, that I really have not a moment I can call my own. Assuring you of my appreciation of the interest you have manifested in the subject, and regretting very much that I cannot answer you more favorably.

Yours very truly,

HORACE PORTER."

We have, however, much pleasure in quoting from the New York *Evening Post* the article by Edgar Stanton Maclay.—ED.]

been that, while the world for one hundred and twenty-five years has been fully informed of the superb heroism of John Paul Jones, it has been kept in comparative ignorance of what his contemporaries accomplished.

This is regrettable for more reasons than one, chief among which is that, while Jones will be found to have suffered nothing by the comparison, these humbler heroes of his day have not received the recognition so justly due them. Of the twenty-nine officers who held the rank of naval captain in our service during the Revolution, only a few emerged from obscurity. They, like the great majority in all services, were destined to perform that hardest of all professional work, the monotonous routine duty incident to the carrying on of naval war.

There were a few, however, who had the good fortune to emerge from the oblivion of naval drudgery, and, perhaps, the greatest of these is Nicholas Biddle, of good Pennsylvania stock. He commanded the *Andrea Doria* in the first naval expedition of the war, Captain Jones (then a lieutenant) serving in the same squadron aboard the flagship *Alfred*. Jones shortly afterward won the immortal distinction of taking the *Serapis* while his own ship went down.

A year before the *Bonhomme Richard-Serapis* fight, Biddle had the unique distinction of both "going up" and "going down" in his ship, the thirty-two gun frigate *Randolph*, in her engagement with the ship-of-the-line *Yarmouth*. Jones' bravery of Flamborough Head was superb, but it does not equal the patriotism and noble sacrifice of Biddle, who, in order to save his convoy of seven rich merchantmen laden with goods indispensable to the American cause, unhesitatingly ran alongside the monster ship-of-the-line and was blown up, 311 of the *Randolph*'s complement of 315 perishing, including Biddle—but the convoy was saved. This was the noblest act of self-sacrifice on a large scale, in the annals of the American navy. Earlier in the war Biddle, while in command of the *Andrea Doria*, in a cruise of four months captured ten English vessels, which, with the exception of two, reached port in safety—two of the prizes containing 400 soldiers of a Highland regiment.

While the immortal distinction of being the first man to hoist our national colors aboard an American warship belongs to Captain Jones, the by no means small honor of showing the American flag for the first time on a regularly commissioned American warship in European waters belongs to Captain Lambert Wickes, who crossed the Atlantic in the

sixteen-gun war brig *Reprisal*. Lambert made a cruise in the Bay of Biscay, and in two circuits of Ireland took some twenty prizes.

Nor should the daring cruises of Captain Gustavus Conyngham in the *Surprise* be overlooked. One year before Captain Jones appeared on the other side of the Atlantic as commander of an American warship, Conyngham scoured the coast of England and picked up prizes in the very chops of the English Channel. Our commissioner in Europe, Silas Deane, wrote:

"Conyngham, by his first and second bold expeditions, is become the terror of all the eastern coast of England and Scotland, and is more dreaded than Thurot was in the late war."

Then there were Captains Thomas Thompson and Elisha Hinman, who one year before Captain Jones' appearance in English waters, executed a dash against a British fleet which is second in audacity only to Jones' attack on the British fleet off Spurn Head. On the night of September 2, 1777, the thirty-two-gun frigate *Raleigh*, and the twenty-four-gun ship *Alfred*, commanded by Captains Thompson and Hinman, while on their way across the ocean, discovered a fleet of merchantmen, escorted by four British warships, among them the *Druid*. Availing himself of the cover of night, Thompson worked his way into the fleet undetected, and getting alongside the *Druid* opened a terrific fire on her so that in a short time she was reduced to a sinking condition. Realizing the folly of fighting the combined escort, Thompson then made good his escape, and arrived safely in France with the *Raleigh* and *Alfred*.

Nor should the daring of an American privateer be overlooked, which, very much after the manner of Jones at Whitehaven, sent a force of men ashore on English soil and made prisoners of a lieutenant and an adjutant of a British regiment, as the following extract from the private letter of an English gentleman will show:

"An American privateer of twelve guns came into this road [Guernsey] yesterday morning, tacked about on the firing of guns from the castle, and, just off the island, took a large brig bound for this port, which they have since carried into Cherbourg. She had the impudence to send her boat in the dusk of the evening to a little island off here called Jetto, and unluckily carried off the lieutenant of Northley's Independent Company with the adjutant, who were shooting rabbits for their diversion."

Not only in English home waters were American naval efforts being expended with conspicuous advantage to the cause before Jones appeared on the scene, but in British colonial possessions our hardy mariners created unprecedented havoc in the enemy's commerce, which did much to bring the mother country to terms. An English correspondent writing from Jamaica under date of May 2, 1777, said that in one week upward of fourteen English ships were carried into Martinique by American warships. Another Englishman, writing from Grenada, April 18, 1777, said:

"Everything continues excessively dear here, and we are happy if we can get anything for money by reason of the quantity of vessels that are taken by American privateers. A fleet of vessels came from Ireland a few days ago. From sixty vessels that departed from Ireland, not above twenty-five arrived in this and neighboring islands, the others (it is thought) being all taken by the American privateers. God knows, if this American war continues much longer, we shall all die of hunger. There was a Guineaman that came from Africa with 450 negroes, some thousand-weight of gold dust, and a great many elephant teeth; the whole cargo being computed to be worth twenty thousand pounds sterling, taken by an American privateer a few days ago."

Captain Jones' brilliant career does not suffer by a comparison with these extraordinary achievements on the high seas. On the contrary, his record is the more resplendent by the contrast. These incidents are mentioned only to show that while Jones was the brightest star in the galaxy of our naval heroes, "there were others" who contributed to the lustre of American naval renown in the Revolution.

Having shown, briefly, the work done by other distinguished sea fighters in our struggle for independence, we can better estimate the worth of the truly great achievements of Captain John Paul Jones while in the service of the United States. They suffer no diminution by having Captain Jones shorn of the false title of "Admiral." There have been only three "Admirals" in the United States navy: Farragut, Porter, and Dewey. The nearest approach to an admiral in our navy of the Revolution was the title conferred upon Esek Hopkins, who was made "commander-in-chief" of our sea forces, a rank intended to correspond to that held by Washington on land. On the escape of the British warship *Glasgow*, in Long Island Sound, 1776, Hopkins was unjustly blamed for the mishap, and the title of "commander-in-chief of the navy" was dropped.

Neither is it necessary to call Jones the "father of the American navy." If such a title could be properly applied to any one, that person is John Adams, who, from the beginning, strenuously advocated the need of a navy, and worked harder than any one man of his time for its establishment on a permanent basis. The fame of Captain Jones needs none of these artificial bolsters for its support. It stands on the solid foundation of personal merit and nothing can add to or detract from it. We have ample evidence of this in the extraordinary manifestation of popular interest in the removal of his remains from a foreign soil to a final resting place in America.

What has been said here about the exploits of other naval heroes in the Revolution is used merely as a foil for the better setting off of the great central figure of the navy of that period. What Biddle, Wickes, Conyngham, Thompson, Hinman, and the American privateersmen did separately, Jones did as one man.

After taking as commendable a part as a subordinate could in the successful expedition to New Providence, he commanded the warship *Providence*, and performed some of the most remarkable feats in seamanship on record, besides inflicting serious losses on the enemy. As commander of the *Alfred*, in which he began his American career as lieutenant, he added to his reputation as a daring and successful skipper. In the *Ranger* he cruised in the Irish Sea with a boldness and success that has never been surpassed, while his extraordinary career in the *Bonhomme Richard* stands unsurpassed in the annals of the world's naval history. Within the scope of his necessarily limited naval activities, he has set a standard of professional excellence that present and coming generations of naval aspirants will find difficult to surpass.

EDGAR S. MACLAY.

Evening Post, N. Y.

THE MOONLIGHT BATTLE

We have much pleasure in presenting our subscribers with the first engraving of Thomas Birch's painting of John Paul Jones' greatest sea-fight.

It illustrates the desperate encounter at the moment when a hand-grenade has been dropped from the *Bon Homme's* mainyard down a hatchway of the *Serapis*, causing a terrible explosion.

In the distance can be seen the British merchant vessels, under the protection of the guns of Scarborough Castle, as also the conflict between the *Pallas*,—the only other ship of Jones' squadron actively engaged,—and the *Countess of Scarborough*, which also ended in the defeat of the British vessel.

For the use of the plate we are indebted to the kindness of Mr. S. V. Henkels, Philadelphia.

BURLEIGH—AND JOHNSON'S ISLAND

IT is safe to surmise that several elderly Americans have watched the news from Manchuria during the past winter with a half expectation of reading of some wild adventure on the part of Bennet Burleigh, correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph*. Among these were Mr. Justice Brown of the United States Supreme Court, who just forty years ago secured his extradition from Canada on a nominal charge of robbery, but really on account of his participation in the Johnson's Island conspiracy. Among them also was James Lattimore, once sheriff of Ottawa County, O., from whose custody he escaped, but who seems to have very pleasant recollections of his whilom prisoner, in spite of the fact that his private purse was somewhat depleted in efforts to recover the fugitive whose society he had found so agreeable that he had been in the habit of taking him about the village of Port Clinton with him. There may be living in Texas some of Burleigh's journalistic associates prepared for almost any deed of daring on his part. The sketch of his career in "Who's Who" reads as follows:

"Burleigh, Bennet, war correspondent, on the staff of the *Daily Telegraph* since 1882; b. Glasgow; married. Fought in American war (twice sentenced to death); Central News correspondent throughout first Egyptian war (present at Tel-el-Kebir); correspondent French campaign Madagascar; as *Daily Telegraph* correspondent accompanied desert column from Korti to Metammah, 1884 (present at Abu Klea, despatches); Ashanti expedition; Atbara expedition; Egyptian war (present at Omdurman); South African war, 1899-1902. Address: 95 North Side, Clapham Common, S. W."

"Who's Who" omits mention of several books of which he is the author—"Desert Warfare," "Two Campaigns: Madagascar and Ashantee," "Khartoum Campaign, 1898; or the Reconquest of the Soudan," "Sirdar and Khalifa," and "Natal Campaign." In *Harper's Magazine* for July, 1900, Fred A. McKenzie says that for Burleigh to spend a day in battle and then ride sixty miles, afterwards write a long and brilliant dispatch and get it first through, is a trifle. He also says Burleigh is an ardent Socialist and has several times been a labor candidate for Parliament in Glasgow, that his favorite drink is soda-water, and that

he abjures tobacco. He adds: "When every outlet from the Transvaal was closed, he boarded the train of the Boer General Joubert and traveled with him, securing a long interview with him and full details of the Boer intentions. He so won Joubert that the old general lent him a conveyance to go over into British territory." But, as the country editor said of another brilliant newspaper correspondent, "Alas, not for him the glittering hatchet, not for him the fruitful cherry tree." It is not true that Burleigh, or as he was then called, Bennet G. Burley, was twice sentenced to death during the American Civil War, though it might be said that twice he stood in some danger of being hanged by the Federals, into whose hands he had fallen and against whom he had waged irregular warfare. And both times he succeeded in escaping from custody.

Judge Daniel B. Lucas of Charlestown, W. Va., in his anonymously published "Memoir of John Yates Beall," says Burley was the son of a Glasgow master mechanic and that when he first appeared in Richmond he had in his pocket the plan of a submarine battery invented by his father. He had also a plan for a torpedo that could be attached to the side of a vessel by screws and then ignited with a fuse. Judge Lucas asserts that Burley actually assisted one John Maxwell to fasten such a torpedo to a Union war vessel, but the fuse refused to ignite, no damage was done, and the torpedo found its way to New York, where it was exhibited at the corner of Fulton and Nassau streets. At a later date a Northern newspaper printed a story that before coming to America Burley had fought in Italy both with the Garibaldians and against them: but whether this be true or not, there is no question that he was engaged with Beall in certain small privateering enterprises in the waters of Eastern Virginia, or that he took part in a raid across Chesapeake Bay under Capt. Thad Fitzhugh in March, 1864, when the raiders captured the steam tug *Titan* and destroyed another vessel. May 12, Burley was himself wounded and captured near the mouth of the Rappahannock River by a skirmish guard of the 36th United States Colored Infantry, and he had to surrender to black men, for no officers came up until the fighting was over. On his person were found papers authorizing him to go beyond the Confederate lines, and it was suspected that he had on foot some adventure as a spy. He was taken to Fort Delaware, forty miles below Philadelphia, whence he and five others attempted their escape through a sewer, the water in which came up to the log sleepers supporting the plank cover. The fugitives had to make their way for a

distance of about twenty-five yards along this sewer, diving under each sleeper as they came to it, and upon reaching its mouth to swim the Delaware River for a distance of a mile and a half, with a tide running that more than doubled the effort necessary to cover the distance. Two of them were captured at the mouth of the sewer, and two were drowned in the river, but Burley and a companion, thanks to the Scotchman's extraordinary physical powers, got away safely, being picked up in mid river by a vessel whose master professed to accept their story that they had been upset while on a fishing excursion, and took them to Philadelphia. Burley thence made his way to Canada, and in Toronto he fell in with his old associate in Eastern Virginia, John Y. Beall. Judge Lucas, who narrates these adventures, probably got his account of them from Burley himself.

Unlike the other Great Lake cities, Sandusky, O., lies not on a narrow creek, but upon the shore of a broad bay which encloses Johnson's Island, about 300 acres in extent. The island and the surrounding waters present a very pleasing aspect, and the Sandusky people are grievously disappointed that this site was not selected for the Great Lake naval training station by the board which recently decided upon a point on Lake Michigan. It is worth noting that the convincing objection to any site on Lake Erie, its ease of access from a foreign and possibly hostile country, was the very cause of much official anxiety at the only time Johnson's Island was used for a national purpose. For in October, 1861, the Government established here a dépôt for captured Confederate officers, whose numbers after the surrender of Vicksburg and Port Hudson ran up to between two and three thousand. They were confined within a stockade enclosing an area of fifteen acres, being housed in thirteen two-story barracks and guarded by two blockhouses, one at a corner of the palisade and one at the gate, so situated that it looked down the street between the two rows of barracks. One of these blockhouses, with the prison cemetery and the ruins of two earth forts, now forms the only relic of the island's occupation by the Confederates. The cemetery contains 206 uniform marble slabs erected after the war by the Southern people. The whole number of Confederates buried here was about 230, five at least of whom were executed by the Federal authorities for atrocious treatment of Southern Unionists, enlisting troops within the Federal lines, and similar offenses. The graves on the island have for years been regularly decorated with flowers by the Sandusky Grand Army men when they were paying the same tribute to the memory of their

comrades buried on the mainland, and they have even been subjected to some criticism for this display of magnanimity. One sometimes sees statements that none of the prisoners ever succeeded in escaping from Johnson's Island, but in the Burley extradition proceedings Capt. Robert C. Kennedy, who was afterwards hanged for his part in the plot to burn New York, swore that he had effected such an escape.

Almost from the establishment of this dépôt for prisoners of war there were rumors of threatened attacks upon it by Confederates from Canada, though the first actual plan for a Rebel raid on the Great Lakes of which we have any official evidence, seems to have been directed primarily against the *Michigan*, the only Union war vessel in these waters, while she still lay at Erie. In February, 1863, Lieut. William Murdaugh, of the Confederate navy, laid before his superiors a plan for capturing the *Michigan* and destroying the lake cities. He proposed, with a small steamer and fifty men armed with cutlasses, revolvers, and small iron buoys to be used as torpedoes, to surprise and capture the Union vessel by boarding and then, before news of the affair had reached the Canadians, to send the smaller vessel back through the Welland Canal, to work destruction along the New York shore of Lake Ontario, and especially to the Erie Canal aqueduct at Rochester, while he himself proceeded, in the *Michigan*, to treat in a similar fashion the locks and shipping at Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, and the Sault Ste. Marie, finally running the *Michigan* ashore in Georgian Bay and destroying her. The Confederate Cabinet approved of the scheme and set aside \$100,000 for its consummation, but Murdaugh says that when everything was ready for a start Jefferson Davis, while deeming the enterprise practicable, caused it to be laid aside for a time, lest such a storm should be aroused over the violation of the British neutrality laws as to put a stop to the building of Confederate ironclads then on the stocks in England. Just six months later Secretaries Seddon and Mallory suggested to Lieut. R. D. Minor, also of the Confederate navy, a similar undertaking having for its main purpose the release of the Confederates confined at Sandusky. The proposition was eagerly embraced, and a party of twenty-two naval officers, who undertook to carry it out, reached Montreal about October 21 and announced to the Johnson's Island prisoners, through the personal column of the *New York Herald*, that "a carriage would be at the door a few nights after the fourth of November." The original plan contemplated taking passage on a lake steamer at Windsor, opposite Detroit, and seizing her when fairly out on

Lake Erie. The prisoners were expected to overcome their rather scanty guard, and their rescuers were simply to receive them on board for transportation to Canada. But on learning that the lake steamers seldom and at irregular intervals stopped at any Canadian port, and possibly because the conspirators had ascertained that the *Michigan* now lay in front of the prison, a different method was adopted. Passage was to be taken at St. Catherines on one of a line of steamers running from Ogdensburg to Chicago, for the party, as mechanics and laborers who were to be employed on the waterworks of the latter city. With numbers increased to fifty-four from escaped prisoners found in Canada, the conspirators assembled at St. Catherines armed with revolvers, butcher knives, and two small nine-pounders, a store of dumb-bells having been laid in to serve as cannon balls. A private named Conelly went to Ogdensburg and paid the passage money for twenty-five men, with an agreement that as many more laborers should be taken as he could secure. The weapons were to be boxed up and marked "Machinery," and the plan was, after seizing the vessel, to arrive at Sandusky about daylight, come into collision with the *Michigan* as if by accident, board and carry her, turn her guns on the prison headquarters, and demand the surrender of the island, the reputation for humanity of the commander, Col. William S. Pierson, being one of the factors relied on for the success of the plot. The Confederate prisoners were to be taken to Canada by some of the steamers lying at Sandusky, while the *Michigan*, her crew reinforced by some fifty rebel officers from the island, was to lay waste the shore of Lake Erie, paying especial attention to Buffalo. But on November 11, Lord Monck, Governor-General of Canada, warned the Washington authorities of the plot, at the same time taking precautions to prevent its execution. Two days before, the military officials at Detroit had sent word that an attack was to be made on the prison, and the guard had been considerably strengthened; but Lord Monck's message caused general alarm among the lake cities. While Gen. Jacob D. Cox was fortifying Cedar Point, at the entrance of Sandusky Bay, Gen. Dix was recommending the removal of the prisoners from Johnson's Island, so greatly was he disturbed over the undefended condition of Buffalo, whither he had hurried. A month later Gen. Hallock expressed the belief that there was "no real foundation for the pretended raid," but the foregoing story of the preparations is taken from a letter to Admiral Buchanan from Lieut. Minor, who attributes the failure of the enterprise wholly to its betrayal to Lord Monck, which he charges to one McCuaig, a Canadian sympathizer with the South.

The connection is not clear between the inchoate Murdaugh-Minor plot of 1863, and the actual Beall-Burley-Cole attempt of 1864. But the advent in Canada, as a Confederate emissary, of Jacob Thompson, President Buchanan's Secretary of the Navy, probably explains the revival of the scheme. At any rate Thompson reports to Secretary Benjamin that he sent Capt. Charles H. Cole around the lakes as a lower deck passenger to study the various harbors and to learn all he could about the *Michigan*, in order to devise some plan for her capture. Cole had belonged to Forrest's command, had been taken prisoner, and had been released on taking an oath of allegiance to the United States. Maj. Robert Stiles, of Richmond, who had the misfortune to be confined in the same casemate with Cole at Fort Lafayette at a later date, regards him as an unmitigated villain and says it was believed that he had belonged to both the Union and Confederate armies and had deserted from both, and Judge Lucas, whom he once visited, entertains an almost equally unfavorable opinion of the man who now established himself in Sandusky and, professing to be engaged in the oil business, proceeded to cultivate acquaintance with military and naval officers, his tactics being based chiefly on the hypothesis that they suffered from a perennial and unconquerable thirst. He was accompanied by a woman whom he sometimes introduced as his wife, but who was regarded by some of the *Michigan*'s officers as a person of doubtful character. Cole did succeed in establishing terms of intimacy with some army and navy officers, and in a newspaper article of 1882, purporting to be based on his revelations, it was asserted that he got two Confederates enlisted on board the *Michigan* and ten in the troops guarding the prison; but the article contains such absurdities as an account of a visit to the *Michigan* by Jacob Thompson disguised in petticoats, and is otherwise so palpably fictitious as to render it practically worthless. There are Sandusky traditions that he won over some of the vessel's engineering force, with the result of disabling her temporarily, but these stories are scouted by the one surviving officer of the ship, Capt. James Hunter, of Erie, then an acting ensign, and they do not find the slightest support in the official documents of the time. The naval officer with whom Cole was most intimate was transferred to the Atlantic coast before anything happened, on account of his habits, and Capt. Hunter, whom Cole had tried to induce to leave the service, remembers his indignation with the conspirator because the latter criticised this transfer and otherwise presumed upon his acquaintance. Hunter suspected him of being a counterfeiter.

The real leader of the enterprise, John Yates Beall, was the opposite

of Cole in every respect, being a young man of strong religious convictions and of serious character throughout. He was a graduate of the University of Virginia, belonged to an old family in the Shenandoah Valley, and owned one of the best farms there. Having been wounded in October, 1861, while serving as a private under Stonewall Jackson, he had spent some time with a brother in Dubuque County, Ia., and on the discovery that he was a Confederate had fled to Canada, thence returning South, and, under a commission as an acting master in the Confederate navy, embarking in those Chesapeake Bay privateering enterprises to which reference has been made and in which Burley was associated with him. His biographer claims for him the original suggestion of the Lake Erie undertaking, but he is here without support from the official records. Beall's operations in Eastern Virginia caused the Federal authorities so much annoyance that a considerable effort was made to end them, with the result that he was captured on board a schooner he had just taken in November, 1863. He and his companions were detained at Fort McHenry in irons for over a month, with the idea that they should be regarded as pirates, but Gen. Butler finally ordered them to be placed on the footing of prisoners of war, and in May, Beall was exchanged. Returning to Richmond, he participated in the fighting around Mechanicsville as a volunteer, but a little later left the army, discouraged, his biographer says, both by the neglect of his superiors and by the condition of his health. He proceeded by way of Baltimore and New York to Canada, where on applying to Jacob Thompson for the command of a privateer on Lake Huron, he was told of a plan to capture the *Michigan* and release the Johnson's Island prisoners, and at once volunteered his services. His diary says that he also went to Sandusky and had a consultation there with Cole, returning thence to Windsor, opposite Detroit, where Thompson made his headquarters, to collect his men.

Sunday evening, September 18, 1864, Burley stepped on board, at her wharf in Detroit, the small steamer *Philo Parsons*, which ran between Detroit and Sandusky. He asked the clerk, Walter O. Ashley, to stop the next morning at Sandwich, on the Canadian side of the river, to take on three friends of his, one of whom was lame and could not well cross the ferry. Ashley consented on condition that Burley should himself come aboard at Detroit. On Monday morning, accordingly, Burley was one of the passengers who started with the boat, and at Sandwich three men, one of whom was Beall, jumped aboard. Later at Amherstburgh, or Malden, also on the Canadian side, sixteen roughly dressed

men, with an old trunk tied with a rope, took passage. They appeared to have no relations with the Beall and Burley party, and were supposed to be returning Americans who had run away from the draft. At Middle Bass Island, which was the home of Capt. Atwood, commanding the steamer, he went ashore, leaving her in charge of the mate and Ashley, who was a part owner. After leaving Kelly's Island, which is about six miles from the Ohio shore, Beall, who had been talking with the mate at the wheel, drew a pistol and declared that as a Confederate officer he took possession of the steamer. At the same time three others leveled revolvers at Ashley, and Burley ordered him into the cabin, whither the passengers, some fifty in number, were also driven, a guard being placed at the door. The old trunk was opened, and proved to contain hatchets and revolvers, with which the captors of the boat armed themselves. Burley proceeded to smash a trotting sulky that stood on deck and throw overboard the pieces, together with the rest of the deck load, consisting of iron, household goods, and tobacco. He and Beall then took the clerk to his office and compelled him to give up the steamer's papers, later in the day taking also what money he had, amounting to some \$90. These events occurred between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, and the boat had run down the lake to a point from which, as the mate, Dewitt C. Nicholls, afterwards testified, the *Michigan* was plainly visible in Sandusky Bay. He was asked many questions about her, and when it was learned from him that the *Parsons* had not enough fuel to take her much farther, he was ordered to turn her about and head for Middle Bass Island, where wood could be taken on board. While she was still lying at the wharf there, the *Island Queen*, a smaller boat which plied between this group of islands and Sandusky, came up, having on board about twenty-five unarmed Union soldiers, who were on their way to Toledo to be mustered out. As she unsuspiciously moored alongside, some of Beall's men jumped on board and took possession. A dozen pistols were fired, and the engineer of the *Queen* was shot in the face, but not seriously injured. Gen. Dix, who made an official report on the whole affair, says that several persons were knocked down and that some injuries were suffered from blows with hatchets, one of which caused a profuse loss of blood, but this was the limit of personal suffering inflicted by the raiders. The passengers of both boats, after some detention in the cabin and hold of the *Parsons*, were put ashore on the island, as were most of the two crews, a few men being retained on the *Parsons* to handle her. The soldiers were paroled not to bear arms against the Confederacy until regularly exchanged, and the civilians were required to

promise that they would say nothing of what had happened for twenty-four hours. Then the two steamers, lashed abreast, got under way, but after going about five miles, the *Queen* was scuttled and set adrift, afterwards sinking on Chickanolee Reef. The *Parsons* continued on her way toward Sandusky for a time, but owing to a failure to receive at Kelly's Island a messenger from Cole, all the party except Beall, Burley, and two others, weakened at the prospect of attacking the *Michigan* with hatchets and revolvers. Beall regarded their prudence as mutiny, and required from them a written statement, which was drawn up on the back of a bill of lading and can be found with the names of the signers in Capt. T. T. Hines's account of the affair in vol. 2 of the *Southern Bivouac*. With great reluctance on the part of Beall, the boat's head was turned toward the Detroit River, and the residents of Middle Bass, who were out burying their valuables, saw her steaming by in the darkness, "like a scared pickerel." On the way a Confederate flag was hoisted, the mate, Nicholls, being required to assist in the unpleasant task of getting it up, and there was some talk of attacking a vessel or two that were passed and of robbing the island home of a Detroit banker named Ives. A boat load of plunder was landed near Malden, and at Sandwich the *Parsons* was abandoned, some of her furniture being put ashore and her injection pipes being cut, so that she would fill and sink. The raiders then disappeared, a couple of them who were later arrested by the Canadian authorities being discharged by a justice of the peace after a detention of two hours.

Beall's plan of attack on the *Michigan* is not intelligible. Cole intended to have some of her officers ashore that evening participating in a revel, and perhaps there was some basis for the later talk of drugged wine to be sent aboard. Captain Hunter remembers two occasions when Cole did send wine to the officers. The prisoners knew some scheme for their release was on foot, for Archibald S. McKennon, of South McAlester, I. T., the present counsel for the Seminole Nation, who was then on the island, tells the writer: "We were organized into companies and regiments and had armed ourselves with clubs, which were made of stovewood and other material at hand, with which to make the fight. I think I was a captain of the organization. Anyhow, I occupied some position by which I had information of the contemplated movement, for I remember I had several conferences with the colonel of the organization as to my duties, and we were in constant expectation of orders to make the fight, which never came. It surely would have been a pitiable affair, for the undertaking was wholly impracticable." Capt. Hunter

has an ingenious theory that Beall intended that just as the *Parsons* entered the Bay, she should burst into flames, and when the *Michigan* sent her boats to rescue the passengers, the conspirators could get possession of these and with them gain the deck of the warship without arousing suspicion. Gen. Dix did find on the *Parsons* some combustible material, but he was probably right in supposing that it had been prepared for the purpose of burning Bunker Ives's house or the *Parsons* when she was abandoned. It looks as if Beall was trusting largely to luck, which, as the case turned out, was overwhelmingly against him. For on Saturday, two days before he boarded the *Parsons*, a man professing to be a Confederate refugee in Canada called at the military headquarters in Detroit and gave such information that the following telegram was sent to the *Michigan*'s commander:

CAPT. J. C. CARTER:

DETROIT, September 17, 1864.

It is reported to me that some of the officers and men of your steamer have been tampered with, and that a party of rebel refugees leave Windsor tomorrow with the expectation of getting possession of your steamer.

B. H. HILL,

Lieutenant-Colonel, U. S. Army, Military Commander.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

FREDERICK J. SHEPARD.

[*(Conclusion next month.)*



ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF ROBERT STUART, INDIAN AGENT, TO JOHN C. SPENCER, SECRETARY OF WAR.

[Secretary Spencer was the father of the unfortunate Midshipman Philip Spencer, of the brig *Somers*, who was hanged for mutiny by the orders of Captain Mackenzie. The letter is about incursions of Canadian half-breeds. The endorsement is by General Winfield Scott, then Commander of the Army. It is interesting as referring to the now almost extinct buffalo, then found in enormous herds, and as showing the widely scattered posts of the "Old Army," and their various duties. General Scott's endorsement is in a hand as minute as he himself was large.]

Washington, February 19, 1842.

HON. JOHN C. SPENCER,
Sec'y of War.

SIR:

I have the honor to communicate in writing, the substance of the verbal information I gave you some time since, relative to the annual hunting expeditions which are made by the British half breeds of Red River, into the territory of the United States. These keen & expert hunters usually leave the colony in the month of June, after having made the necessary preparations for curing the meat of the large numbers of Buffalo which they annually slaughter. Their route is in the direction of Devil's Lake, & thence diagonally across towards the Missouri River, the very region which abounds with Buffalo. From the information which I have received on this point 15 to 20,000 of these animals are destroyed annually by them. They also each Fall, divide into small parties and carry off much valuable furs. The bands of Sioux Indians, who are the possessors of this region are conciliated by presents of Liquor, &c—and do not consequently attempt to molest them, nor would it be easy to prevent these incursions, if the Indians were so disposed; for the half-breeds usually number 300 or 400 men, well armed & united under a species of discipline. * * * * *

If measures were taken to put a stop to these expeditions, the Hudson Bay Company would be cut off from their supplies of pimegan (pemmican—ED.) (dried and pounded Buffalo meat) upon which they rely much for subsistence; and the halfbreeds, deprived of a lucrative

trade, would soon be compelled to separate into smaller bands, and remove farther into the North. Ohio & Michigan would then be resorted to by the agents of the Co to obtain provisions, and the States would be so far benefitted in furnishing supplies, in lieu of those of which our own Indians & Traders are now so improperly deprived.

The halfbreeds of the North are for the most part a fierce & turbulent race, impatient of control, & so much feared by the Hudson Bay Co. that they are said to keep in pay some of their leading men, with a view to prevent outbreaks. They are not nearly so numerous as they have been represented, probably not exceeding 600 to 800 men, in all, and the white settlers, who numbered 1000 to 2000 a few years since, are mostly dispersed. I would suggest whether it might not be well to send a force, not less than 300 to 400 Dragoons, at the proper season, which would at once overawe both halfbreeds & Indians.

Sir, Your Obd't serv't,
ROBERT STUART,
Act'g Sup't Ind. Affairs.

Endorsement: When the 5 troops of the 2d. Dragoons, now in Florida, shall join the headquarters of the reg't., in the So. West (say in June) the 1st Dragoons may be concentrated, or nearly so, on the Upper Missouri, & thus furnish the detachment of two or three troops wanted for the within purpose. Three troops would be sufficient—Mr. Stuart does not give the southern limits of the halfbreeds. Feb. 20, 1842.

Postscript: Of the 1st Dragoons, one troop is now at Fort Atkinson (Nebraska—ED.), 6 are at Ft. Leavenworth, & 3 on the Arkansaw. I still think 3 or 4 troops of horse, say even 150 men, enough.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

Feb'y 25, 1842.

AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF EDGAR ALLAN POE.

[Addressed to his uncle, William Poe, of Augusta, Ga. Dated Philadelphia, August 15, 1840. Valuable for its details of plan of a proposed new magazine, and his past connection with others.]

DEAR WILLIAM,

Owing to a temporary absence from town I did not receive your welcome letter of the 28th July until this morning. I now hasten to reply, and in the first place let me assure you that, if I have not lately written, it is rather because I have been overwhelmed by worldly cares which left me scarce a moment for thought, than that I do not feel for you the kindest affection as well as deep gratitude for the services yourself and brothers have so often rendered me.

Herewith I send you a prospectus of my contemplated Magazine. I believe you know that my connection with the *Southern Messenger* was merely that of editor. I had no proprietary in it and my movements were therefore much impeded. The situation was disagreeable to me in every respect. The drudgery was excessive, the salary was contemptible. In fact, I soon found that whatever reputation I might personally gain, this reputation would be all. I stood no chance of bettering my pecuniary condition, while my best energies were wasted in the service of an illiterate and vulgar, although well-meaning man, who had neither the capacity to appreciate my labors nor the will to reward them. For this reason I left him and entered first into an engagement with the *New York Review* and afterwards with the *Gentleman's Magazine*, writing occasionally for [both] journals; my object being merely to keep my head above water as regards money until a good opportunity [should arrive] of establishing a Magazine of my own in which I should be able to carry out my plans to full completion and at the same time have the satisfaction of feeling that my exertions were to my own advantage. I believe that the plans I here speak of and some of them you will find detailed in the Prospectus, are well devised and digested, and will meet with the hearty support of the most desirable and intelligent portion of the community, should I be able to bring them fairly before the public I feel assured that my fortune is made. The ambition which actuates me I know to be no ordinary or unworthy sentiment and knowing this, I take pride in earnestly soliciting your support, and that of your brothers

and friends. If I fully succeed in my purpose I shall not fail to produce some lasting effect upon the growing literature of this country, while I establish for myself individually a name which that country 'will not willingly let die.' . . .

It is upon the South that I chiefly rely for aid in the undertaking, and I have every hope that it will not fail me in my need. Yet the difficulties which I have to overcome are great, and I acknowledge to you that my prospects depend very much upon getting together a subscription list previously to the first of December. If by this day I can obtain 500 names, the work cannot fail to proceed, and I have no fears for the result. The friendship you have always evinced, the near relationship which exists between us, and the kind offer in your last letter, all warrant me in hoping that you will exert your whole influence for me in Augusta. Will you oblige me by acting as my agent for the *Penn Magazine* in your city, this letter being your authority? If I am not mistaken, you already act in that capacity for the *Messenger*.

I will write a few lines also by this mail to your brother Robert, with a *Prospectus*, as you suggest—and also to Washington [Poe] at Macon.

Mrs. Clemm, my aunt, is still living with me, but for the last six weeks has been on a visit to a friend in the State of N. Jersey. She is quite well, having entirely recovered her health. Respecting the letter from Mr. Bayard I am quite at a loss to understand it. It is however possible that the letter was written by Mr. B. at a period when we were all in much difficulty in New York and that Mrs. C(lemm) concealed the circumstance from me through delicacy.

Yours truly,
E. A. P.

AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN

[Relating to a soldier who had deserted. An interesting memento of the traditional kind-heartedness of the great President, even in such a serious matter as the desertion of a soldier in time of war, the almost invariable penalty for which is death. This letter sold for a high price in New York lately.]

EXECUTIVE MANSION

WASHINGTON, *July 25, 1864.*

Thomas Connor, a private in the 1st. Veteran New York Cavalry, is now imprisoned at hard labor for desertion. If the Colonel of said Regiment will say in writing on this sheet, that he is willing to receive him back to the Regiment, I will pardon, and send him.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER OF WASHINGTON

[Ordering the execution of a soldier. In marked contrast to Mr. Lincoln's. It is addressed to Col. Tucker at Albany.]

HEADQUARTERS, *20th May, 1782.*

Sir:

I have rec'd your Letter of the 11th instant and another without date the former inclosing the proceedings of a Court Martial held for the Trial of Shem Kentfield,—

Inclosed you have copy of the General Order approving the proceedings and a Warrant for the Execution of the Prisoner—the place of Execution is left to you.

The necessity of the Contractors furnishing Lard Bread when required has been represented to Mr. Morris¹ who will doubtless take measures accordingly.

I am Sir Your very humble Servant
G. WASHINGTON.

¹ Robert Morris.

LETTER OF COLONEL BARNARD BEEKMAN, S. C. ARTILLERY
 (STATE TROOPS.)

[He was taken prisoner at the capture of Charleston in 1780. Zubley's Ferry was across the Savannah River to the Georgia shore. As General Moultrie was then the senior officer in South Carolina this letter was probably meant for him.]

CAMP AT SHELDON (S. C.)

23d October, 1779.

DR GENERAL

I arrived at this Post on the ev'ning of yesterday; with the Army & Stores.—I left Capt. Hale of the 2d with a command of Fifty men at Zubly's, to cover the removal of the Corn Meal, &c, under the Direction of Col Wylley D. Q. M. General. I am sorry to observe that that Gentleman overtook the Army at Alleston's on the march, where he inform'd me that he could not obtain the Ox teams & carts, and doubted of means to bring the Corn Meal on.—I have sent off Capt. Spencer (of the Q'r master's Department) with orders to collect what carriages [carts] he can on his way to Zubly's ferry and Directed him to bring off the Corn Meal if possible so far as Mr. Heyward's plantation, from whence it may after be brought to camp. I have posted a strong Picquet at Port Royal ferry & such other Guards as our safety required & number would afford. The large Boats at Zubly's ferry are sunk in a deep lagoon on the So Car'o. side a little higher up the River—have decided that the Boat which brought the Corn meal be sunk in like manner.

The prisoners are this hour brought by an officer of Col. Garden's, taken at Hilton head & General Bull's Island; the officer reports that the Enemy have removed the Sick from a board the Vessells to the last mentioned place, that they¹ * * * * * (Pendarvisses)—that on the night of the 21st five white men and four negros landed upon the main, about 3 miles above Colo Garden's command of Militia (and) took off 5 Hogs & some cows.

I have now to renew my request for your leave of absence from Camp, I could add many reasons to those before offer'd; as the necessity for the good of the Service, I hope it will suffice when I assure you it is not to withdraw myself from Duty. Your compliance will oblige

Sir, Your most obedient

B. BEEKMAN.

¹ Illegible.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—At a stated meeting held March 7 a letter was read from Governor Higgins, acknowledging his election as an Honorary Member of the Society. The paper of the evening, entitled "Unpublished Papers of the Revolutionary War," by Baron von Closen, Aide to Count de Rochambeau, with stereopticon illustrations, was read by Mr. Clarence Winthrop Bowen. Several views showing the progress in the erection of the new building of the Society were shown.

At the April 4th meeting the Peter Marié Collection of Miniatures, 284 in number, was presented to the Society by the residuary legatees under the will of the late Peter Marié. A daguerreotype of Washington Irving was presented by Mr. Walter L. Suydam.

The thirteenth of the illustrated series of papers relating to the City of New York, entitled: "Memorials of the Revolution Within Our Gates," was read by Mr. Albert Ulmann, author of a "Landmark History of New York."

At a stated meeting held on Tuesday evening, May 2, an oil painting of the Dutch School, the "Sacrifice of Abraham," was presented to the Society by Mrs. Peter Gerard Stuyvesant Ten Broeck; a crayon portrait of Prof. Samuel F. B. Morse was added to the collection by the Dürr Gallery Fund.

The silver medal presented by Congress November 3, 1780, to David Williams, one of the captors of Major John André, September 23, 1780, was presented to the Society by Mrs. Eugene A. Hoffman.

Resolutions, on the death of Mr. Edward Floyd de Lancey, late Chairman of the Executive Committee and Domestic Corresponding Secretary, 1879-1899, were adopted.

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard read the paper of the evening entitled: "Wall Street, 1653-1789."

COMMUNICATIONS

THE FIRST BRITISH PRISONER TAKEN IN THE REVOLUTION

SILVANUS WOOD of Woburn, Mass., on the alarm of the 19th of April, 1775, left his home at Kendall's Mill and hastened to Lexington where he joined Capt. Parker's company of thirty-seven minute-men on the Common at the time the British regulars fired upon them. He assisted in removing the dead and wounded from the field to the meeting-house and then followed the British troops to Concord, accompanied by a companion who was unarmed. When about a mile beyond the meeting-house, near Parkhurst's Hill in Lexington, Wood observing a British soldier who had left the ranks and was resting by the roadside, ordered him to surrender, which he did, and taking from him his musket and equipment gave them to his companion. They then marched their prisoner to Lexington and delivered him into custody. Wood later enlisted in the army formed by Washington at Cambridge, and was at New York and in New Jersey, at the battle of Trenton [and was wounded at the battle of Pell's Point (Pelham), Oct. 18, 1776. He was then an Ensign in Col. Loammi Baldwin's regiment, the 26th Massachusetts.—ED.].

HERBERT W. KIMBALL.

BOSTON.

MINOR TOPICS.

JOHN PAUL JONES RELICS

There are but three articles in the National Museum which serve as relics of the great naval hero of revolutionary times, whose remains were recently unearthed in Paris by Ambassador Porter. The three articles are in a case containing mementos of the Revolution, and they consist of an old flag which flew at the masthead of the *Bon Homme Richard*, an old flintlock musket, and a fierce-looking cutlass, both of which were cap-

tured from the *Serapis* when Jones took that ship in the famous engagement of September, 1779.

The flag of the *Bon Homme Richard* is an interesting relic of the period. It was originally sixteen feet long. It has twelve white stars, and four red and four white stripes. During the battle between the *Richard* and the *Serapis* this flag was worn by Jones' ship, and it was saved by Jones when he and his crew left his sinking vessel for the *Serapis*—WASHINGTON STAR.

BOOK NOTICES.

DESCENDANTS OF JONATHAN TOWLE, 1747-1822, OF HAMPTON AND PITTSFIELD, N. H. By ALVIN F. TOWLE, assisted by his son, HERBERT C. TOWLE, J. M. MOSES, A. M., and G. C. SELDEN, A. B., LL. B., FEL. COL. UNIV. BOSTON, MASS.: C. W. CALKINS & CO., Publishers, No. 52 Purchase St. 12mo. pp. 312. Ill. Maps. Price \$3.00 net, postpaid.

The four divisions of this work comprise, respectively, first, a series of six tables giving in brief the principal facts relating to Jonathan Towle and his five children; second, a historical narrative, beginning with the O'Toole family in Ireland; third, the genealogy proper; fourth, a part consisting almost wholly of the portraits of descendants of Hulda (Towle) Chase, and Daniel and James Towle, followed by a copious index. The family history involves customs and personages of colonial life in New England more or less worthy of record, and such as a novelist could well utilize. The book is printed and bound in good style, and is well illustrated.

GENEALOGY OF THE DESCENDANTS OF JOHN DEMING OF WETHERSFIELD, CONNECTICUT. With Historical Notes. Compiled and edited by JUDSON KEITH DEMING, DUBUQUE, IOWA. Press of MATHIS-METS CO., Dubuque, Iowa. 8vo. pp. VIII.+694. Ill. Price \$7.50. Apply to Author or Publishers.

The most noticeable feature of this genealogy is the abundance of biographical

matter, in which are embodied the "Historical Notes" mentioned on the title-page. The twelve years' labor of the author has produced such a mass of information respecting the Demings that, in order not to make too large a volume, the female lines are indicated simply by the record of marriage, with no attempt at tracing them further. The coat-of-arms of the Cole type used as frontispiece, the author himself disclaims as being authentic, and will hardly be regarded by the heraldic connoisseur as wholly in keeping with the other beautiful half-tone embellishments. The book is thoroughly indexed, and printed and bound in superior style.

GENEALOGY OF THE ANTHONY FAMILY FROM 1495 to 1904. Traced from WILLIAM ANTHONY, Cologne, Germany, to London, England, JOHN ANTHONY, a Descendant, from England to America. With photographs and biographical sketches of the Lives of Prominent Men and Women. 1904. Compiled and published by CHARLES L. ANTHONY. Sterling, Ill. 8vo. pp. 379. Ill.

It is stated in the preface that, though many circumstances render it probable, yet the connection between the German William and the English John Anthony has not been established as certain. John was the grandson of Dr. Francis Anthony, the celebrated physician and chemist, whose "potable gold" was proclaimed by him as a cure for all diseases. Another famous person connected with the Anthony family was Gilbert Stuart, the artist, of whom a biography of considerable length is furnished. Biographical sketches, indeed, are frequent, one of Susan

B. Anthony being particularly noticeable. Appended to the genealogy are extracts from the Vital Records of Rhode Island relating to the Anthonys, followed by a chapter on the Nova Scotia branch. The illustrations are chiefly portraits, among them, however, being a coat-of-arms in color. There is a good index, and typographically the volume is fine.

HISTOR Y, GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL, OF THE MOLYNEUX FAMILIES. By NELLIE ZADA RICE MOLYNEUX. Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. BARDEEN, Publisher. 1904. Square 8vo. pp. 370. Ill.

Robert Molyneux, known as the "Comte de Meulin," is the ancestor whose descendants are recorded in this volume. "The Lineage of the English Branch," "Lineage of the Irish Branch," "Molyneux of the West Indies," "Staffordshire and Sussex Branches," and "Unclassified"—these sections together with one entitled simply "Molyneux," form the principal divisions of the work. The last-named chapter contains the Molyneux of America. The name is associated with aristocracy, and persons and places of high degree are frequently described. The list of authorities preceding the genealogy shows a large proportion of works on the peerage of Great Britain. The genealogy possesses, therefore, much historical interest, the narrative portion of the work equalling in extent that of the vital statistics. The appendix is a specimen of the literary talent of a Molyneux, entitled "Gleanings After a Harvest of Twenty Years in Roman Fields." The index is full, the print beautifully clear, and the margins wide.

LASHER GENEALOGY. In three parts. Edition of two hundred copies. New York: C. S. WILLIAMS. 1904. 8vo. pp. 270. Ill. Map. Price

\$3.60. Apply to Publisher, 16 Irvington St., New York City.

Of the three parts of this work the first comprises the descendants of François Le Seur, who came from Normandy to Kingston, N. Y., the second, those of Sebastian Loesher, an early German settler at West Camp, N. Y., the third, those of John Lejere, the record of whose marriage in the Dutch Reformed Church, N. Y., is dated 1723. Church and family records, old papers, tombstones, public documents and historical works, and information received from members of the family are the sources of a well-indexed compilation which will be highly prized by those of the name. Heavy paper, wide margins, remarkably clear print, are the typographical features of the volume. Corresponding in quality to these are the illustrations and binding.

LIFE OF JEFFERSON DILLARD GOODPASTURE; to which is appended a Genealogy of the Family of JAMES GOODPASTURE. By his sons, A. V. and W. H. GOODPASTURE. Nashville, Tenn.: CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN PUBLISHING HOUSE. 12mo. pp. 308. Ill.

Judge Goodpasture was born on Buffalo Creek, near Hilham, Tennessee, in 1824. His extensive law practice and his State Senatorship, though receiving a due share of the biography, are subordinate in interest to what proved to be the principal enterprise of his career, the importation of jacks. The description of his travels in Europe when in search of the animals he had determined to introduce into Tennessee occupies a large portion of the book, and is very interesting reading. The James Goodpasture whose genealogy forms the appendix, was one of the pioneers of Abingdon Settlement, Virginia, whence he emigrated to Tennessee. Though not written for the public, this memoir of an unusually busy man will give pleasure to all who like to trace a career of deserved success.

THE NANCE MEMORIAL. A History of the Nance Family in General, but more particularly of CLEMENT NANCE, of Pittsylvania County, Virginia, and descendants, containing Historical and Biographical Records with Family Lineage. By GEO. W. NANCE. 1904: J. E. BURKE & Co., Printers, Bloomington, Ill. 8vo. pp. XVI.+354. Ill.

The plan of this genealogy being original and very peculiar, we will quote the author's own description of it: "As far as known to the author no work has ever been published following the plan of this work. . . . Beginning with the ancestral head of Part I., he is called the trunk. The trunk divides into limbs, the limbs into branches, they into twigs. The twigs bear buds which bring forth blossoms, and the blossoms grow into fruit. So the seven parts of the tree answer to the seven generations of Part I." While it gives what one must call a bizarre appearance to the page to head its columns of names "twigs," "buds," "blossoms," "fruit," it may be that such an arrangement, when understood, is as simple as any commonly used. Mr. Nance claims that it has advantages over others. Be that as it may, the genealogy is an excellent one, very abundant in biographical facts, forming thereby a detailed history of the family, profusely illustrated, well printed, and handsomely and substantially bound.

THE TENNEY FAMILY, OR THE DESCENDANTS OF THOMAS TENNEY OF ROWLEY, MASSACHUSETTS. 1638-1904. Revised, with partial records of PROF. JONATHAN TENNEY. By M. J. TENNEY. Concord, N. H.: THE RUMFORD PRESS. 1904. 8vo. pp. 691. Ill.

The original edition of this work was published in 1891, containing a little more than

half of the material of the present one. The praise which was accorded to it as a full and precise record is in a greater degree merited by this volume. The arrangement of the contents of this is the same as that of the other edition, the opening section being "Our English Home," to which succeed the ten "generations" of the genealogy, an appendix having been added relating to Deacon William Tenney, brother of Thomas. An index of more than sixty pages is a thorough guide in the use of the book. The letterpress is clear, the illustrations nearly all full-page portraits, and the binding of cloth. A colored coat-of-arms serves as frontispiece.

WOODHULL GENEALOGY. THE WOODHULL FAMILY IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA. Compiled by MARY GOULD WOODHULL and FRANCES BOWES STEVENS. Published by HENRY T. COATES & Co., Philadelphia. 1904. 8vo. pp. 366+LVI. Ill.

The first part of this book, entitled "The Woodhull Family in England," consists of "A Record of the Descendants of Walter Flanderensis," otherwise called Walter de Wahulle. The second part is a "Record of the Descendants of Richard Woodhull I., of Brookhaven, Long Island," to which is added an appendix containing notes on allied families, the work concluding with seventy-eight pages of biographical sketches. The frontispiece is a brilliantly colored copy of an heraldic painting on an oaken panel, called "The Woodhull Achievement," and now in the possession of the Woodhulls of the State of New York. The few other illustrations are principally portraits. Paper and print are of good quality; the binding is of dark green cloth. The index is full, and in connection with it should be mentioned a long list of "References to the Woodhull Family in America" in books and periodicals. Blank leaves follow the index lettered "Births," "Marriages," and "Deaths."



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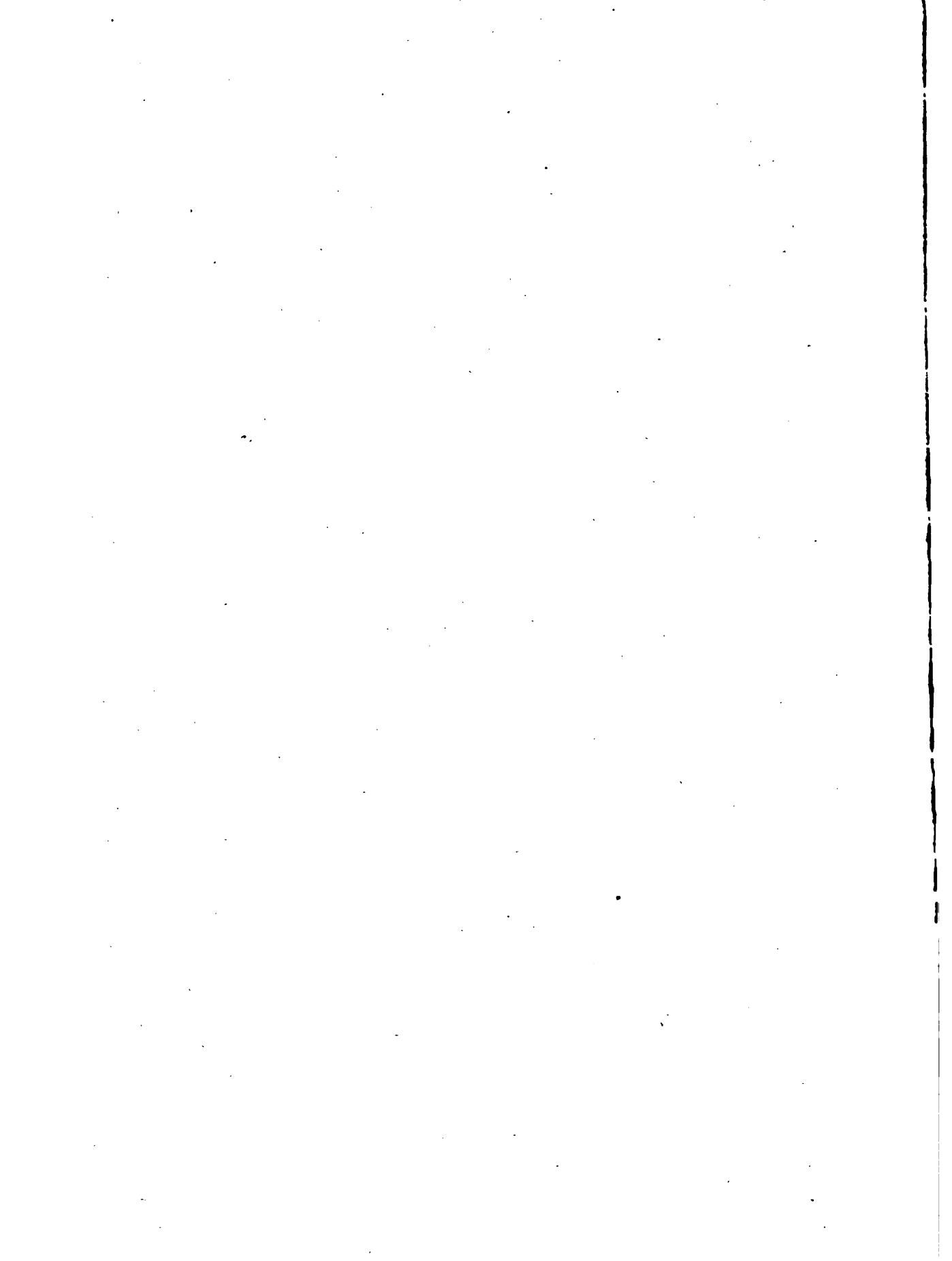
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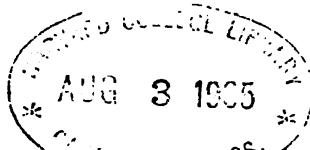
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THE PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

III

THE EXPEDITION OF OÑATE, FICTITIOUSLY ASCRIBED TO PEÑALOSA

THE first Governor of New Mexico, Don Juan de Oñate, a few years after his founding the first Spanish colonies there, led an expedition far eastward, in 1601, probably coming, as I think, to the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Arkansas River. He desired to find gold and silver, and to see the country of Quivira, reached by Coronado's expedition sixty years before. Certainly, also, he would wish to extend his exploration to the great river discovered by De Soto. But only very meagre and disagreeing records of this exploration are preserved, of which Hubert Howe Bancroft presents the following brief summary:¹

"In June, 1601, the general [Governor Oñate] was ready for active operations. Accompanied by Padres Velasco and Vergara, and guided by the Mexican survivor of Humaña's band, he left San Juan with eighty men and marched northeastward over the plains. The route in general terms, no details being known, was similar to that of Coronado in 1541, for 200 leagues in a winding course to an estimated latitude of 39° or 40° . Probably the northern trend is greatly exaggerated. [A footnote adds: Posadas, a good authority, says that Oñate went nearly 300 leagues east in search of the ocean, reaching the country of the Aijados south of Quivira and west of the Tejas. The natives guided him to Quivira, but knew nothing of the ocean.] The Spaniards had a battle with the Escanjaques, and killed a thousand of them on the Matanza plain, scene of

¹ *History of the Pacific States*, Vol. XII, 1888, pp. 149, 150. Compare also Vol. X, 1884, pp. 382-3.

Humaña's defeat. The battle was caused by Padre Velasco's efforts to prevent the Escanjaques from destroying the property of the Quiviras, who had fled from their towns at the approach of the Spaniards and their allies. Large villages were seen, and advance parties claimed to have found utensils of gold, which was said to be plentiful in the country of the Aijados not far away; and a native captive sent south is said to have caused a sensation in Mexico and Spain by his skill in detecting the presence of gold. It is not quite clear that Quivira was actually visited, but ambassadors from that people—also called Tindanes—were met, who wished to join the Spaniards in a raid on the gold country. Oñate, however, deemed it unwise to go on with so small a force, or perhaps was forced to turn back by the clamors of his men. He returned to San Juan probably in October."

Curiously, in a fiction purporting to give the history of a later elaborately equipped expedition in 1662 from Santa Fé to the Mississippi, we have another account of Oñate's expedition, including evident exaggerations, but probably reliable as to the route and limit of the journey. This account, ascribed to the later date and to the governor at that time, claims to have been written in 1662 or 1663 by Father Nicolas de Freytas, the Franciscan chaplain of an expedition, in the former of these years, led by Don Diego de Peñalosa, who was governor of New Mexico from 1661 to 1664. A copy of it, found in the archives of the Spanish Government at Madrid in 1856 by Buckingham Smith, was translated into English and published in 1882 by John Gilmary Shea. It was the same manuscript which Peñalosa had given to Seignelay, Minister of the Marine of France, in 1684, when, having left the service of Spain because of his persecution by the Inquisition, he proposed to lead a French expedition for the conquest of the Spanish settlements in northeastern Mexico.

This narration has been regarded as a true record by Shea, in his translation and annotations; by Hon. L. Bradford Prince, in his *Historical Sketches of New Mexico* (1883); by Judge James W. Savage, in a paper published in the *Transactions of the Nebraska Historical Society* (Vol. II., 1887, pp. 114-132), arguing that Peñalosa came to the Platte River in eastern Nebraska; by Hon. J. V. Brower and Alfred J. Hill, in the *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society* (Vol. VII., 1893, p. 36); and by Captain Russell Blakeley, in the eighth volume of the last

named series (1898, pp. 324-6). But my recent studies lead me to agree instead with Bancroft, who, after giving a short outline of the alleged expedition, says (*History of the Pacific States*, Vol. X., 1884, pp. 386-7):

"The events just noted fill but a small part of the narrative, which is chiefly made up of the most extravagant praises of the fertility and natural resources of this northeastern paradise; of falsehoods about the city of Quivira, the streets of which, lined with buildings of three or four stories, extended for leagues in every direction, farther than the Spaniards had time to explore, though they counted thousands of houses; with reports from the Quiviras of still greater wonders beyond, notably in the land of the Aijaos. . . . It is not necessary to present these vagaries in detail; for I am convinced that the whole narrative is a mere fabrication by Peñalosa, and that no such expedition was made by him. The story was founded on Oñate's expedition of 1601, supplemented by rumors current in New Mexico, eked out with a fertile imagination; though the governor may possibly have made some slight explorations in the east. The close resemblance of this *entrada* in several leading features to that of Oñate must have been noted by the reader. Peñalosa was a reckless adventurer from South America, whose name it will be remembered was connected with Admiral Fonte's famous and fictitious voyage to the northwest coast in 1640. There are many petty items of circumstantial evidence bearing on this subject, for which I have no space; but especially is it to be noted that Father Paredes [corrected to Posadas, Vol. XII., p. 170], custodian of New Mexico during Peñalosa's term of office, in a special report on eastern exploration drawn out by Peñalosa's own projects, does not mention any expedition whatever by that officer. This is to me conclusive. The Governor desired to engage in northeastern conquest, and doubtless exaggerated the rumored wealth of those regions in memorials to Viceroy and King; but that he sent the fictitious narrative in question to Spanish authorities may be doubted. It is more probable that he wrote it later for use in France. . . . "

The chief objections of Bancroft, as here stated, are, first, that Oñate's expedition was so nearly like that described for Peñalosa as to show the latter to be a fiction built out of the former, with changes of date, names, etc.; and, second, that Posadas, treating particularly of explorations during that period, has no reference to any conducted by Peñalosa.

Another argument to the same effect arises from the use of the name Mischipi (our Mississippi) in this narrative, purporting to have been written in 1662 or within a year later. As this is an Algonquin name, it could not have been learned from the Caddoan and Siouan tribes of the regions supposed to have been traversed by Peñalosa; nor could he, nor any historian in New Mexico, have learned this name at so early a date from the *Relations* of the Jesuits, or probably from any other publication. It first occurs in the Jesuit *Relation* for 1666-'67, and again for 1670-71. Therefore this word makes it exceedingly unlikely that the narrative could have been written at the date claimed for it; but before 1684, when the manuscript was used in France, the name had become widely known.

On account of the close repetition of events otherwise known in Oñate's expedition, and the description, as I think, of a route east to the Mississippi, with correct topographic information of a part of this river, its tributaries, and a notable long ridge, in the region occupied by the Escanxaques (Akansas or Arkansas) Indians, I believe that the narrative is true in these details, if Oñate in 1601 be read in the place of Peñalosa in 1662. Therefore, in our review of early expeditions to the Mississippi, this narrative requires quotation and discussion.

It is asserted that Peñalosa started from Santa Fé on the 6th of March, 1662, "to discover the lands to the eastward," at the head of 80 Spaniards, 1,000 Indian bowmen, 36 carts of "provisions and munitions," six cannon, 800 horses, and 300 mules. The narrative reads as follows:

"We took our course eastward till we had marched two hundred leagues, all through pleasing, peaceful, and most fertile fields, and so level that in all of them no mountain, or range, or any hill was seen, which finally ended at a very high and insuperable ridge which is near the sea, eight leagues beyond the great city of Quivira, called Taracari; and so agreeable and fertile are they that in all the Indies of Peru and New Spain, nor in Europe, have any such been seen, so pleasant and delightful, and covered with buffalo or cows of cibola which caused notable admiration. The further we entered the country the greater was the number, with many and very beautiful rivers, marshes and springs; studded with luxuriant forest and fruit trees of various kinds, which produce most palatable plums, large and fine grapes in great clusters and of extremely good flavor, like

those of Spain, and even better. Many mulberry trees to raise silk, oaks, evergreen oaks, elms, ash and poplar trees, with other kinds of trees, with useful and fragrant plants, clover, flax, hemp, marjoram high enough to hide a man on horseback, abundance of roses, strawberries without end, small but savory, many Castilian partridges, quails, turkeys, and sandpipers, pheasants, deer, stags or elk in very great number, and even one kind of them as large and developed as our horses.

Through these pleasant and most fertile fields we marched during the months of March, April, May, and the kalends of June, and arrived at a large river which they call Mischipi, where we saw the first Indians of the Escanxaques nation, who might be to the number of 3,000, most warlike, well armed and equipped in their manner, who were going to attack the first city of the Quiviras, who are their enemies, and are destroying themselves by continual wars.

After entering into peace with us, these Escanxaques gave notice of Quivira and its peoples, and they marched with us that day up by the borders of that beautiful river, which is rapid, and forms in parts very delightful and beautiful prairies, so fertile that in some they gather the fruit twice a year, and great forests in parts at distances of two, four, six, and ten leagues, and strange trees not seen until this place.

From this point we turned our route northward, following the river which drew its current from thence, leaving the East on our right, and that day the army halted in the prairies by the river, and the Escanxaques Indians lodged somewhat apart; and it is worth noting what they did that evening, which was their going out to the number of six hundred to hunt cibolas, which they found very near, and in less than three hours they returned, each bringing one, two, and some three cows' tongues from the incredible slaughter which they made of them.

The next day the army marched, and after going four leagues we discovered the great range already mentioned, which ran from east to north, covered with smokes, by which they gave notice of the arrival of the Christian army, and soon after we discovered the great settlement or city of Quivira, situated on the widespread prairies of another beautiful river which came from the range to enter and unite with that which we had hitherto followed.

Before crossing the great river which served us as a guide, and in sight of the city, the army halted in the prairie thereof, Don Diego having previously ordered the Escanxaques to retire and not enter the city till his Lordship commanded otherwise. This they did, though against their will, because they wished that both they and the Señor Adelantado with his soldiers should at once assault the city with fire and blood, and destroy it.

So numerous were the people who appeared before the great settlement, men, women, and children, that it excited wonder, and then seventy head chiefs came very well attired in their style with neat chamois and buckskin, and caps and bonnets of ermine, and they welcomed the Señor Adelantado with the greatest marks of love and respect that they could.

His illustrious Lordship received them with pleasure and ordered them to be entertained, and he gave them some presents with his accustomed liberality, endeavoring to quiet their minds, which were disturbed by the alarm which they had felt on seeing him and the Escanxaques, their avowed enemies, as well as to gain their good will for the furtherance of his expedition. . . .

. . . The Señor Adelantado detained two of those chiefs that evening and night with fair words and better deeds; they were examined and questioned as to their land and the qualities of it and of its tribes. They gave his Lordship such grand accounts and relation of the interior country that it excited our admiration, and among many other things they said that that first city which we saw was so large and of so great a population that we could not reach the end in two days, and that from that elevated range, wonderful for its length and height, which displayed itself to our sight, many rivers, large and small, descended, on the banks of which are towns of countless tribes of his nation. . . .

The account of these caciques and the questions of Don Diego and the Father chaplains lasted till midnight, at which hour they were sent to sleep; but they, seeing themselves alone and among such strange and foreign folk, and that their enemies, the Escanxaques, were so near, fled and crossed the river to their city which at sunrise was depopulated and without inhabitants, because their enemies, the Escanxaques, without being observed by our men, slipped off and attacked the city, killing, burning, and destroying all

they could; on which surprise his Lordship ordered the army to cross the river, and it was forded with difficulty, as it was still night, and he encamped at the entrance of the town, which is situated on the delightful banks of another river, which runs through the midst of it, and the houses and streets are on both banks, and the shape of the buildings for the most part is round, two, three, and four stories, covered with straw with wonderful skill. . . . As we observed in what we saw, they plant twice a year, as some fields were ready to harvest and others were planting. . . .

The next morning the army marched through the town some two leagues, and, having counted some thousands of houses, halted on the bank of another river, which also entered it; and it was remarked that every quarter of a league, a little more or less, highways entered the city of sixteen paths and some of more, well beaten and even, which came down from the lofty range, which was some six leagues distant from the buildings.

From this point the Señor Adelantado sent a squad of twenty-five soldiers . . . to go and explore all the town, without their being able to reach the end of the streets, and when furthest on they discerned more of the town, and more smokes on the ridge, which ran along the right side of the city towards the north.

. . . Señor Don Diego, seeing that it was useless to follow men who fled, . . . turned back to these provinces [New Mexico] on the 11th of June . . . and as he came marching along the Escanxaques Indians came out to meet him arms in hand, and, ungrateful for the kindness which had been shown them, joined with others of their nation, who formed a body of more than seven thousand and had returned to enter the city at the front; and although they were summoned peaceably, they would not hearken, and it became necessary to fight; and in a bloody battle fought against them the Señor Adelantado killed more than three thousand of them in less than three hours, and the rest took flight, having experienced the superiority of balls over arrows, although these they discharged in torrents, so that they seemed to be storms of hail. . . .

Four months thereafter there came to this kingdom a leading Casique of Quivira with more than seven hundred Indians and trains of dogs loaded with chamois and buckskins and other skins, and went to see the Señor Adelantado, and gave his Lordship thanks for

the punishment he had inflicted on their enemies, the Escanxaques, and gave again accounts of the great rich cities inland. . . ."

The cacique, or chief, is said to have drawn a map on the ground, and to have told glowing and exaggerated descriptions of the great buffalo plains and prairies, and of the towns of diverse and warring Indian tribes. From the author's ensuing discussion, it is seen that Quivira was understood by him to comprise the vast plains that extend from the region of the Red and Arkansas Rivers far to the north, and that he thought the continent to be smaller than it really is, being encircled, just beyond the buffalo country of Quivira, by the sea on the northeast, north, and northwest. He sought to convey an impression that a very fertile country of vast extent, very rich and populous, lying west, north, northeast, and east of New Mexico, awaited possession by Europeans. It was a document that Peñalosa would gladly present to Seignelay, for the influence it would have at the French court.

So much attention has been given to this narrative of an expedition discovering the Mississippi at the east side of the area of Arkansas, as I have identified the described route and limit of the march, because this interpretation differs from that of Shea, the editor of the English translation. He thought that the limit of the great expedition of Coronado in 1540-42 was also the end of the journey here narrated, which I regard as made by Oñate in 1601; and that it was north of the Missouri river. Instead, Quivira in this description comprised a very large area of buffalo pasture and Indians who lived mainly by hunting them, and Oñate probably went east to the Mississippi, as I understand this line of march; whereas Coronado's route was to the northeast, to a part of Quivira shown by Winship, Brower, Hodge, and others, to have been occupied by the Wichita and Pawnee Indians in central Kansas. The route and observations of Coronado have been thoroughly studied by Brower in his monographs, *Quivira* (1898), and *Harahey* (1899).

Reasons for my interpretation of the record here considered referable to Oñate's expedition, and explanations harmonizing with it, should therefore be stated more definitely. The narrative allows three months for the journey of nine hundred or a thousand miles, giving an average rate of about twelve miles daily. Two crops of maize produced yearly, and the luxuriant flora, notably its "evergreen oaks," indicate a southern latitude; for live oaks would not be seen in going northeast to the Missouri.

The Escanxaques seem to me identifiable with the Akansea (Arkansas) Indians of Marquette and the later explorers, being indeed the same name differently spelled. They were the most southerly tribe of the extensive Siouan stock on the Mississippi. "The great city of Quivira, called Taracari," was, as I think, the home of the Arikara or Arickaree tribe, of the Caddoan stock, which later, by their wars, became far separated from the kindred Caddoan tribes, being driven northward to the upper Missouri River. Taracari, on the north side of the Arkansas River and close to its mouth, occupied an extensive area, with the White River, only a few miles north of the Arkansas, flowing through it. Marquette's map shows the Tanikoua tribe (probably his spelling of Taracari) not far west of the Akansea and Mitchigamea tribes; and very near the Tanikoua he notes the Aiajchi, probably the same with the Ahijaos, or Aijados, who appear in the early accounts of the expedition by Oñate, as also in its fictitious repetition under Peñalosa.

All the lands closely adjoining the Mississippi, Arkansas, and White Rivers, are subject to annual overflow, from which, in 1543, the people of Aminoya, situated in the same vicinity on the west bank of the Mississippi, escaped by going into the lofts of their houses. In somewhat the same manner of building, Taracari had round dwellings of two or more stories, covered with straw.

The high and long ridge at the distance of six or eight Spanish leagues (25 or 30 miles) northward from Taracari, which was so much on the author's mind, is Crowley's Ridge, a very remarkable topographic and geologic feature, extending from Helena, Arkansas, along a distance of a hundred and seventy-five miles north to the latitude of Cairo, nearly parallel with the Mississippi and mainly about thirty miles west of that river. Its height, however, rising often steeply but not exceeding about 100 to 300 feet above the lowlands, was very much exaggerated in the accounts given by the Indians, as I suppose, to Oñate, and remembered in traditions of his expedition. During the spring freshets of the Mississippi, this ridge, mostly five to ten miles wide, is entirely enclosed by the river floods pouring southward on each side, which would give to it an importance in any description of the country given to the Spaniards by the Indians, such as no other ridge could have within the distance of several hundred miles. The south end of the ridge is flanked westward by a width of twenty-five miles of somewhat high land, above the reach of the spring inundations, its western border being only five miles from the White River.

It is certainly a curious and interesting coincidence that the writer of this narrative, like Jean Nicolet when hearing of a "great water" a few days' travel beyond Green Bay and the Fox River, mistook what the Taracari chiefs said in their describing the Mississippi, and thought that they referred to the ocean. Toward the end of the story, the ridge is magnified not less than at first, and we are told that "those of Quivira who live to the East say that the sea is ten leagues distant behind the great Sierra."

According to my study of Oñate's route (ascribed to Peñalosa), he came to the Mississippi about a day's march south of the Arkansas River, which was crossed to enter Taracari, that very large town or series of villages being situated on both sides of the White River, along which it extended many miles northward. It was on the alluvial flat, adjoining higher land that reaches thence to Crowley's Ridge. "In conclusion," wrote our author, "all the plain from the city of Quivira to the ridge, which must be six or seven leagues, seemed a paradise."

The Taracari Indians, speaking a Caddoan language, were of the same great family as the Wichitas and Pawnees found by Coronado in his part of Quivira, in Kansas, sixty years before. But probably we should regard Quivira as a designation for the Buffalo Plains, rather than for the country of any group of cognate Indian tribes. Under this view, Quivira was more largely occupied by Siouan peoples, from the Dakotas on the north to the Arkansas on the south.

In keeping with the general Spanish policy as to all their American discoveries, neither Oñate nor the government made any publication of his explorations. It was reserved for two unpretentious Frenchmen, Joliet and Marquette, the former a young but skilled explorer, and the latter a Jesuit missionary, voyaging in birch canoes, to navigate the Mississippi in 1673, first of Europeans, for about a thousand miles of its meanderings adjoining Quivira, and to tell the world of this river. Eighteen years earlier, indeed, two other Frenchmen, Groseilliers and Radisson, pioneers of the fur trade, canoed along a more northern part of the Mississippi; but their exploration was concealed from their countrymen, and the meagre relation of it written by Radisson remained unpublished until twenty years ago.

WARREN UPHAM.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

(Concluded next month)

THE STORY OF CHEVALIER DE ST. SAUVEUR.

[By the exertions of two men, Col. Long of the S. A. R. and Capt. A. A. Folsom, of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, Massachusetts is at length to erect the monument authorized in 1778, to the memory of this unfortunate French officer. We are indebted to Capt. F. for the official documents, which we print here-with.—ED.]

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

[The committee on Libraries, to whom was referred the petition of Prentiss Cummings for legislation relative to a memorial of the Chevalier de St. Sauveur, an officer in the French fleet, who was killed in an affray in the streets of Boston in the year 1778, report the accompanying statement and resolve.]

SENATE, *April 28, 1905.*

THIS report relates to an incident which occurred in the town of Boston in the State of Massachusetts Bay a little over a century and a quarter ago.

Boston then contained less than 10,000 people, and the State not far from 300,000. The town had seen the last of the Royal Governors, and the evacuation of the British troops under Gen. Howe had taken place two years previously. It was at the tide-turning of the Revolution, and the people were in the restless condition consequent upon the sudden changes of fortune which had befallen the merchants, and the inequalities of life resultant upon war and its disturbed relations. The general fortune of the war of the colonies for independence was at its lowest ebb, when the dark night and terrible sufferings of Valley Forge were followed by the dawn of the French alliance, which was celebrated in camp on the 6th of May, 1778.

The first fruit of this alliance was the arrival in the Bay of Delaware on the 8th of July, after a rough voyage of nearly ninety days from Toulon, of a French fleet of twelve ships of the line and three frigates, under Vice-Admiral Count D'Estaing, ready to co-operate with the States in the reduction of the British army and navy. This fleet also

brought Gérard de Rayneval, the first French ambassador to the United States. D'Estaing sailed northward, intercepting a few vessels bound for New York, and intending to sail up New York Bay and offer battle to the British; but his ships were so large that the pilots would not take them through the channel, and the fleet was sent by Washington to co-operate with General Sullivan in the attempt to capture the island of Rhode Island, and appeared off Newport on the 29th of July, forcing the British through fear to destroy several of their armed ships and galleys.

Maj. Gen. (and Gov.) John Hancock was at the head of the Massachusetts troops which had been sent to co-operate with the other land forces under General Sullivan in this campaign. This expedition failed partly through misunderstandings between the land and naval forces, but more especially by reason of the danger to the French fleet by a hurricane. The admiral's flagship—the "Languedoc"—lost its rudder and masts, and the "Apollo," to which the flag was shifted, could not keep to sea, and D'Estaing sailed to Boston for repairs and supplies.

While the country had palpitated with joy at the alliance with France, this failure of the first effort of the French fleet had a depressing effect upon the people at large, and the popular welcome in Boston was not over-demonstrative. General Sullivan even censured D'Estaing, and insinuated that the French alliance was futile. It was at a moment when there was great possibility of endangering the alliance,—a fact which the public authorities fully recognized; and General Hancock hastened back from Rhode Island to extend the most generous hospitality to the officers of the French fleet, and, in co-operation with General Heath, who was the military commander in Massachusetts, to receive D'Estaing and his officers with every official as well as social courtesy. A superb entertainment was given the French officers in Faneuil Hall, and it is said that forty of them dined at General Hancock's table every day. The admiral acknowledged their courtesies by an entertainment on his flagship,—the *Languedoc*.

During the stay of the fleet in Boston a most unfortunate incident occurred, and one which, in the inflammable state of the populace, might have had far-reaching international results. Of this the authorities on both sides seem to have been fully aware. The matter was treated with great consideration and diplomacy, and in the way least calculated to arouse public interest.

From the meagre and varying accounts it appears that upon the evening of the 8th of September an affray occurred in the streets of Boston which resulted in the death of one of the officers of the fleet. It seems that a number of seamen, whether British prisoners on parole, privateersmen or Americans, it is not quite clear, demanded bread of the French bakery employed for the supplying of Count D'Estaing's fleet, and, being refused, fell upon and beat the bakers. Two of the count's officers, Monseigneur Count de St. Sauveur and M. de Pléville, had endeavored to quell the riot, and were both wounded, the Chevalier de St. Sauveur receiving a mortal blow over the right eye, from which he died seven days after. The Chevalier de St. Sauveur, First Chamberlain of His Royal Highness Monseigneur Count d'Artois, brother of His Majesty the King of France, was a lieutenant of the eighty-gun ship *Tonnant*, the Count de Breugnon, chief of squadron, as aid, with rank of major, an officer immediately under the chief; he was also the brother-in-law of Breugnon. The offenders were, it appears, never discovered, though a reward was offered for them by the government. Count D'Estaing was much grieved at the event, but treated it with great calmness and good sense.

The matter does not appear as an item of news or subject of current comment in the newspapers of the day. It appears, however, from the records and official communications hereto appended, that General Heath at once wrote a letter to the Council, commanding the affair to its serious consideration, expressing his uneasiness and sense of the danger, and asking that every measure be taken to detect the perpetrators and insure protection in the future. At the same time General Heath wrote to Count D'Estaing, expressing his regret, and giving assurance of his friendship for the count and his officers and men. To this letter Count D'Estaing replied in the most cordial terms expressing his confidence in the authorities.

The Council, which was then the chief executive authority of the State, immediately appointed a committee to investigate the circumstances of the riot, and issued a proclamation promising a reward of three hundred dollars for the discovery of one or more of the rioters.

The Chevalier de St. Sauveur died on the 15th of September, and the next day the General Court passed a resolve appointing Col. Thomas Dawes a committee to provide a monumental stone to be placed in the

burial ground where the remains should be deposited, with such inscription as the Count D'Estaing should order. This action was acknowledged in a letter of grateful appreciation by the count, and it appears from the log book of the *Languedoc*, the admiral's flagship, that an inscription was prepared as therein set forth, and copies ordered to be furnished to each ship in the fleet. The General Court voted to attend the funeral, but it appears that it was deemed best that no public display should be made, and in the night with simple and unostentatious rites the body was placed in a tomb under the "Chapel of the King," which is supposed to be the strangers' tomb underneath the porch of King's Chapel.

Here the known history of the matter ends; but there can be no reasonable doubt that it was intended at some time to erect a suitable monument, and that this intention was never carried out. The rapidly moving panorama of the closing years of the war, the formation of new State and Federal governments, the French Revolution which followed shortly after, were all calculated to divert attention on both sides of the water from a matter of this kind. Indeed, there was so much secrecy about the whole transaction that the deaths of comparatively few people sufficed to leave it forgotten; and between the years 1800 and 1900 was probably an interval of nearly a century during which no person was living who ever heard of it. Recent publications in France and in this country have called attention to the event, but this report is the first connected account of it ever published.

In war and in peace Massachusetts keeps her promises. Here is an event filled with uncertain and distressing possibilities at the time, which, in the more comprehensive view of the present, had the matter not been disposed of to the entire satisfaction of the French officers, might have ended the French alliance, and changed materially the subsequent history if not the results of the war of the Revolution. Yorktown might never have been a lustrous, historic name. The State had failed in its primal duty to keep the public peace; the death of a French officer of distinction had been the result. All the reparation possible at the moment was made. The omitted or forgotten detail should be supplied, and to this end the committee recommend the passage of the accompanying resolve.

In conclusion, the committee cannot forbear to express their thanks to the State Librarian for his labors in examining the original documents appended hereto, and preparing the foregoing report.

Appended hereto are such documents of an official character as have been discovered relating to the affair, and accounts of the incident from various sources. (*Signed by the Committee.*)

RESOLVE

In the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Five.

Respecting a Memorial to Chevalier de St. Sauveur.

1 *Resolved*, That the president of the senate, and the speaker of the
2 house, and five citizens to be appointed by his excellency, the gov-
3 ernor be a committee to serve without pay during the recess, and
4 report to the next general court such action as shall seem to them
5 appropriate to carry out, at least in spirit, the promise implied in
6 a resolution of the general court of Massachusetts Bay, passed Sep-
7 tember sixteenth, seventeen hundred and seventy-eight, respecting a
8 monument and an inscription in memory of Chevalier de St. Sau-
9 veur, an officer in the fleet of Count D'Estaing, injured by persons
10 unknown in an affray occurring in Boston, September eighth, seven-
11 teen hundred and seventy-eight, and who died here in consequence
12 September fifteenth, seventeen hundred and seventy-eight.

NOTE

This incident has been revived mainly through the research of Capt. A. A. Folsom of Brookline, his attention having been called to it by Col. Charles Chaillé Long, one of the founders of the French Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and its delegate to the Congress of the S. A. R., which met in Washington in May, 1902. He was one of the commissioners appointed by the French Society of the S. A. R. to search the archives of the War, Navy and Foreign Affairs of the French Government, to discover the names of the French officers, soldiers, sailors and marines who fought in the war for American Independence,—a search which resulted in the publication by the French Government of the valuable volume entitled "Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Américaine, 1778—1783," a copy of which was presented by the French government to the State Library of Massachusetts. In the records of the marine he found the log book of Count D'Estaing's flagship, the *Languedoc*, and therein the clue to this incident. He inquired of Captain Folsom in which of the Boston cemeteries the St. Sauveur monument was erected; and the latter, who is a good deal of an antiquary, knew there was no such monument, and had never heard of the St. Sauveur incident. He was some three years in gathering together the papers

relating thereto, and it was very recently that the fact was ascertained that the Chevalier was buried in King's Chapel. Three of the important exhibits annexed hereto were found and added by the State Librarian in preparing this report.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

LETTER OF GENERAL HEATH TO THE COUNCIL.

[Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 200, pp. 72, 73, in Secretary's Office, State House.]

HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, Sept. 9th, 1778.

GENTLN

A Disturbance happened the last night in the Streets, between a number of French officers and a number of Sailors or Inhabitants which is a Matter of serious Consideration, and I am confident will have all due attention from your Honors. An officer of Rank and distinguished Family in France is supposed to be mortally wounded. I can scarcely Express my uneasiness on this occasion, as I am apprehensive without the utmost exertions, our great & good cause will be Injured Irreparably. The Expressions uttered by many are truly Surprising, and it may be that those who wish to make a Scism at this Time may be blowing the Coal. Upon the first call for the Troops the last night the Rioters Instantly Dispersed, and If the Strength of the Garrison in Town would admit of Patrols they might Happily prevent Confusion and mischief in future. I am now Interrupted by the Coming in of Count D'Estaing's Secretary and the Major of the Fleet. Their Uneasiness is great. Every Step Possible must be taken to Convince them of our Sincerity and attachment, or the Consequences may be the most disagreeable. I informed the French Gentlemen that I was writing to the Hon^{ble} Council and was Confident they would take every measure in their Power to detect the Villains and to afford Protection. I rest Confident that your Wisdom will direct to the Most happy measures.

I have the honor to be

With the Greatest respect

Your obt. Humble Serv^t

W. HEATH.

No. 2.

[Council Records, Vol. 22, pp. 443-445.]

WEDNESDAY, September 9th, 1778, in Council.

On motion Ordered that Benjamin Austin & Daniel Hopkins Esq^{rs} be a Committee to examine one Mr. Sage respecting the Riot committed the last Evening in this Town or to inquire of him what he knows respecting the affair & report.

On motion ordered that Francis Dana & Daniel Hopkins Esq^{rs} be a Committee to draft a Proclamation calling upon all Justices &c to apprehend all per-

sons concerned in the Riot committed in this Town the last evening & report, who reported a Proclamation which was read & accepted and is as follows, viz.

BY THE COUNCIL OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

[The proclamation was also printed in the "Independent Chronicle," Sept. 10, 1778, with the signatures of Jeremiah Powell, president, and John Avery, deputy secretary.]

A Proclamation.

Whereas this Council have received information of a high handed affray or riot happening in this town, on the last evening, wherein several persons have been badly wounded, & one or more, it is feared mortally so; And whereas the names of the persons concerned therein are at present unknown; & it being of the highest importance that such outrages should be prevented, & offenders therein brought to condign punishment, this Council have tho't fit to issue this their Proclamation, hereby requiring all Justices of the Peace, all Sheriffs & their deputies, & all civil officers in their several districts & departments within the said State respectively to use their utmost endeavors for discovering, apprehending and bringing to Justice all such persons offending as aforesaid. And we do also hereby promise a reward of Three hundred Dollars to be paid out of the Publick Treasury of this State to any person or persons who shall inform against or discover any one or more concerned in these riotous & unlawful proceedings so that he or they shall be convicted. Given under our hand, at the Council Chamber in Boston the ninth of September 1778.

In the name & behalf of the Council
President.

By their Honors' Command.

Ordered that one hundred Copies of the above Proclamation be printed & posted up in the several parts of this Town.

Whereas a high handed affray or riot happened in this town the last evening by persons unknown & the Chevalier de Pléville commandant La Frigatte L'Engageante is very desirous of going with the Sheriff & his officers to apprehend the Rioters, Therefore Ordered that William Greenleaf, Esq., Sheriff of the County of Suffolk be & hereby is directed to attend the said Chevalier de Pléville with such aid & Assistance as he the said Sheriff shall think necessary—And to apprehend any person or persons suspected of being concerned in the aforesaid Riot & him or them forthwith to carry before some Justice of the Peace to be examined & dealt with according to law.

No. 3.

LETTER OF GENERAL HEATH TO COUNT D'ESTAING.

[*"Heath Papers," Vol. 2, p. 268, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 7th series, Vol. 4.*]

HEAD QUARTERS, Sept. 9th, 1778.

SIR—

A very unhappy affair happened in this town the last night between a number of Frenchmen belonging to your squadron and a number of American sailors.

Which first began I cannot tell. But some French gentlemen hearing of it ran to suppress the disturbance, when two of them were much wounded. As soon as notice was received at my quarters of the disturbance the guards were ordered out to suppress it, but the rioters had dispersed before they reached the place. I want words to express the uneasiness which I feel on this occasion. I, this morning wrote to the Council. They view the matter with indignation and are determined if possible to find out the offenders and make proper examples of them. Some of the hands belonging to the *Marlborough* privateer are suspected of being concerned in the riot. Orders are sent to the Castle to stop her until the matter is fully inquired into. You cannot Sir, feel more displeasure and concern at this conduct than I do, and I can only assure you that nothing shall be wanting on my part to bring offenders to justice and to prove with how much sincerity I prize and value the friendship of your Excellency and the officers and men of your squadron.

I am this moment honored with the receipt of your favor of this day. I cannot yet obtain the particulars of the burning of Bedford. I expect them this night or tomorrow, when I will immediately transmit them to your Excellency.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obd. serv^t.

W. HEATH.

His Excelcy COUNT D'ESTAING.

No. 4.

REPLY OF COUNT D'ESTAING TO GENERAL HEATH.

[“Heath Papers,” Vol. 2, p. 269, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 7th series, Vol. 4. The original is in French.]

ON THE ROADSTEAD OF BOSTON, Sept. 10, 1778.

DEAR SIR.

I have the honor to thank your Excellency for the letter you had the kindness to write to me yesterday & which has reached me this evening. It is with as much grief as confidence in your justice and in that of the Council that I have learned of the misfortune which happened night before last. The thing in itself has filled me with the deepest grief, which would have been increased had that been possible, on account of the “personel” of the officers who were the victims. Our common enemies hesitate at nothing; persuaded that our union both national and private, render us invincible, & that they must fail eventually there is nothing they will not try and the agents that they keep among you have only too many opportunities to execute their destructive orders. Imitators of those troops who burn defenceless villages, they secretly sow the seeds of discord & they know how to employ persons whom they may seduce or deceive.

It is not against these last that I bring the complaints that I pray your Excellency

to submit to the inspection of the Council. I should be inconsolable were a single inhabitant of the Metropolis of America to be punished for this fatal incident, if any have been misled by false insinuations which I do not believe. Their heart & their reason will now disavow their error, and I am persuaded that they will hate the more those who have led them astray. It is assuredly against the secret plotters of this event that the wisdom of the Council will let fall all the weight of a just severity. I have counted so much upon the active foresight of the representatives of a free people that I have used no undue emphasis in the expression of my feelings. Some sailors many of whom are deserters from the enemy like those said to be found on the Privateer *Marlborough* have proved no doubt suitable instruments to perform what has been done. The precautions which you have taken Sir, will perhaps bring to light a plot the real authors of which it seems to me are sufficiently well known. Public rumor already threatened them with a decision of the Council. Their perfidy will have merited it still more.

I have charged M. le Chevalier de Borda, Major of the Squadron, to put at the head of our bakery during the time it remains on land, a man who knows the language with orders to prevent resistance of any kind on the part of bakers whose bread should be taken. The lives of men are infinitely more important than the preservation of our flour, necessary as that is to us. The chief baker, a native of the country, can tell if they are Americans or traitors to their country who act in this way. In the first case we should only peaceably claim our property from allies so dear to us, but in the second we should look to your government to find proper reparation upon which I rely. I pray you, Sir, that if the police that a time of war may necessitate decides you to place a guard over the bakery, to give to this guard the same orders that our bakers have already had and to forbid especially that your soldiers ever fire not even in repelling force by force but content themselves with peaceably protecting that which belongs to us and recognizing the evildoers. M. de Borda has already doubtless presented the request on my part.

The uncertainty you are in regarding the movements of the English, and of which you have the goodness to inform me, prevents me from leaving the Roadstead and will deprive me tomorrow of the great pleasure of profiting by the kindness of his Excellency Monsieur the Honorable General Hancock. Will you kindly inform him of all this letter contains. Monsieur de Grand Clos can translate it.

I have the Honor to be, with Respect, Monsieur, for your Excellency,
Your very humble and obedient Servant,

ESTAING.

To His Excellency Monsieur the GENERAL HEATH, Major General of U. S. troops of America and Commander in Chief at Boston.

No. 5.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL HEATH TO GENERAL WASHINGTON, FOUND IN THE "WASHINGTON COLLECTION" AT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AT WASHINGTON.

[Printed also in "Heath Papers," Vol. 2, p. 271.]

The night before last an unhappy affray happened here between a number of American and French Sailors. Some French officers who were near the place attempting to quell the disturbance were much wounded one I fear mortally. The guards instantly turn'd out to suppress the riot but the Rioters dispersed before the guard arrived at the place.

Every step has been taken to discover and apprehend the persons concerned and to satisfy the French Gentlemen who appeared much alarmed on the occasion and in particular that their Officers should be insulted & wounded.

The conduct of the Council has been very spirited. The guards patroled the streets the last night to prevent further disturbance. The Count D'Estaing has assured me this day he is fully satisfyed the Inhabitants had no hand in the affray.

No. 6.

[Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 219, p. 217.]

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES *Sept. 16, 1778.*

Whereas on the Evening of the 8th Instant in an Affray which happened in the Town of Boston by high insults offer'd to some French Bakers by certain riotous Persons unknown the Chevalier de Saint Sauveur in endeavoring to make Peace, received a wound in the Head which ended his Life on the 15th, And as this Court hold in the highest detestation the Perpetrators and Abettors of this horrid Deed, and out of respect to the Memory of the deceased

Resolved, That this Government will provide a monumental Stone to be placed in the burial Ground where his Remains shall be deposited, with such inscription as his Excellency the Count D'Estaing shall order.

And this Court will attend in Procession the Corps of the deceased to the Place of Interment.

Resolved, That Coll. Thomas Dawes be a Committee to see the Monumental Stone erected accordingly. Sent up for Concurrence.

IN COUNCIL, Sept. 16, 1778.

JOHN PICKERING, *Spk^r*

Read & Concurred.

JOHN AVERY, *Dp. Secy.*

Consented to:

JER. POWELL.	DAN'L HOPKINS.	H. GARDNER.	JOSIAH STONE.
B. GREENLEAF.	A. FULLER.	B. WHITE.	JNO. PITTS.
JEDIDIAH PREBLE.	N. CUSHING.	JABEZ FISHER.	JOSEPH SIMPSON.
MOSES GILL.		T. CUSHING.	SAM'L NILES.

No. 7.

LETTER FROM COUNT D'ESTAING TO THE COUNCIL.

[Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 200, p. 103.]

BOSTON ROAD, 19th Septr. 1778.

SIR.

Permit me to entreat your Honor to be the Instrument of expressg. the Gratitude of all the French who are with me, & to make their respectful Homage acceptable to the Council of State of Boston is a favour which I have the honour to ask in their Name. The resolution which had for its Object the misfortune that happened to the Chevalier de St. Sauveur, adds nothing to the entire persuasion we all lay under of the Sentiments of the Council of State, our attachment, & Circumstances announced them to us, & their Goodness hath Confirmed us in the same; the striking proof they give of their Indignation, of their Justice & of the Interest they take in the fate of an officer distinguished by his zeal & by his personal qualities is just & right in order to augment the Devotion & Inclination for the common Cause, which is so deeply engraven in our hearts: What the Council of State hath deigned to resolve & their Sentiments thereupon are the funeral flowers most acceptable to the memory of a Gentleman who having the honor to hold a considerable post in the Royal family was sure to acquire new rights from his Sovereign's Bounty, in Sacrificing his Life for America, & who falls a Victim to the desire he had of preserving the Lives of Others, expressed in his last words, & in his last moments was intent upon What he presumed the most suitable means for a general union which nothing shall weaken & that his misfortune & his blood which has been shed may only serve as he most earnestly wished it might to cement it still more.

I have the honor to be with profound respect Sirs, Your Honors most humble & most obedt. Servt.

ESTAING.

IN COUNCIL, Sept. 21, 1778.

Recd. & Sent Down.

JONA. AVERY, *Dep. Secy.*

No. 8.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL HEATH,
SEPT. 22, 1778.["Heath Papers," Vol. 1, p. 95, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 5th series,
Vol. 4.]

I am pleased to hear by a letter from General Greene, of the 16th, that the affray mentioned in yours of the 10th has terminated in such a manner as to convince the French gentlemen that no public harm or insult was intended by the people of the town of Boston. All possible means should now be taken to cultivate

THE STORY OF CHEVALIER DE ST. SAUVEUR

harmony between the people and seamen, who will not be so easily reconciled as their officers, not having so much sense to direct them.

No. 9.

EXTRACT FROM GORDON'S HISTORY OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

[3d American edition, Vol. 2, pp. 394-396, in a letter dated Roxbury, Nov. 12, 1778.]

In the evening of the 8th, there was a violent affray at Boston between certain unknown persons and a number of French. It is said, though not proved, to have been begun by seamen captured in British vessels, and some of Burgoyne's army, who had enlisted in privateers just ready to sail. A body of these fellows, we have been told, demanded bread of the French bakers employed for the supplying of the Count d'Estaing's fleet; and being refused, fell upon and beat them in a most outrageous manner. Two of the Count's officers, attempting to compose the fray, were wounded, the Chevalier de Saint Sauveur so badly that he died on the 15th; and the next day the Massachusetts House of Assembly resolved to erect a monumental stone to his memory. None of the offending persons having been discovered, notwithstanding the reward that was offered, it may be feared that Americans were concerned in the riot; while political prudence charged it upon others, that less umbrage might be taken at the event. The Count was much grieved at what had happened; but had too much calmness and good sense to charge it upon the body of the inhabitants, who were no less concerned at it than himself; so that it created no dissensions between them. On the 22d, the general court received the compliments of the Count and his officers; all of whom were invited to dine, three days after, at a public dinner. The fleet had been so far repaired, and so well secured by formidable works on George's-Island, in which the Count had mounted near a hundred heavy cannon, that they could with the utmost propriety be absent upon the occasion. For the greater security the General Court, under an apprehension that the British fleet and army might move to the northward, with a view of destroying the Count's fleet, and repossessing themselves of Boston, had resolved on the 19th to raise a third of the militia. Three days before this resolve, Admiral Byron arrived at New-York from Halifax. His squadron had suffered so in their voyage from Britain, that it was a full month before he could sail again, in order to observe d'Estaing's motions. The Count lay at ease and in safety; and on the 26th of October, entertained a large company of gentlemen and ladies whom he had invited to dine with him on board the *Languedoc*. The entertainment was highly elegant. A full length picture of Gen. Washington, presented to the Count by Mr. Hancock, was placed in the center of the upper side of the room, and the frame of it was covered with laurels. The Count having made this public return for the personal civilities he had received from numbers secured himself from all liableness to detention by points of honor; from a threatened detention of another nature, he had been happily relieved in season. It was generally expected from the

scarceness of provisions of all sorts at Boston and the neighborhood that he would have encountered great difficulties, if not actual distress. The impracticability of victualing his fleet at that port was dreaded, even the subsisting of it was doubted.—But he was freed from these apprehensions by a singular fortune. The New-England cruisers took such a number of provision vessels on their way from Europe to New-York, as not only supplied the wants of the French, but furnished an overplus sufficient to reduce the rates of the markets at Boston. This seasonable supply occasioned great triumph among the inhabitants. The Count being in hope of sailing within a few days, published a declaration to be spread among the French Canadians, and addressed them in the name of their ancient master the French King.—The design of it was to recall their affection to the ancient government and to revive all the national attachments of that people, thereby to prepare them for an invasion either from France or America, and to raise their expectations of no distant change of masters. Admiral Byron having repaired his fleet, appeared off Boston bay; but had not cruised there long before he was overtaken by a violent storm, in which the ships again suffered so much, that they were glad to get into shelter at Rhode-Island. The *Somerset* of 64 guns not being able to clear Cape Cod, run ashore and fell into the hands of the Bay-men who saved her guns and many valuable articles. When the storm ended, the wind settled in the north-west, and blew fair for carrying the French fleet to the West-Indies. Count d'Estaing seized the opportunity, and sailed from Boston [Nov. 3,] with his ships thoroughly repaired, clean, and well victualled, and with his forces in full health and vigor.

The behaviour of the French officers and sailors, the whole time that their fleet lay in port, was remarkably good, far beyond any thing of the kind ever before, when several men of war were present. The Count made a point of always lying on board at night. The officers conducted [themselves] with greatest regularity and decorum; but noticed a certain coolness in the gentlemen and ladies toward them, which was imputed to the want of so cordial an affection for France as what they had once entertained for Great-Britain, and had not wholly laid aside; but it was greatly owing to the successless expedition against Rhode-Island, and to what had been related concerning them respecting that affair. The common sailors were peaceably inclined; and engaged in no quarrels excepting what has been related, and one at night of October the 5th, in no wise material; and in neither of these do they appear to have been the aggressors.—They neither abused nor injured the town's-people; nor made themselves a nuisance by their excesses and disorderly conduct.

No. 10.

EXTRACT FROM THE LOG BOOK OF THE "LANGUEDOC."

In the Log Book of the *Languedoc*, 94 guns, 1,160 men, flagship of Admiral Count d'Estaing, there is an account of a night attack by Tories in the streets of Boston. Lieutenants St. Sauveur and Pléville, informed, hurried to the rescue;

waylaid and beaten by clubs, left for dead; M. St. Sauveur, grievously wounded, died of his injuries Sept. 15, 1778.

The following inscription, placed upon his monument by order of the Boston Council, appears in the log: "This monument has been created in consequence of a resolution of the State of Massachusetts Bay, the 16th Sept., 1778, in memory of Chevalier de St. Sauveur, First Chamberlain of His Royal Highness, Monseigneur Count d'Artois, brother of His Majesty, the King of France. This officer, Aide Major of the French fleet, and Lieutenant de Vaisseau of the *Tonnant*, after having had the glory of risking his life for the United States, was in the performance of his duty when he became a victim of a tumult caused by the evil minded. He died with the same devotion for America. The ties of duty and sympathy which bind his compatriots to the City of Boston have thus been drawn tighter. May all the efforts which may be attempted to separate France and America end thus. Such is the prayer which in the centuries to come all Frenchmen and Americans will offer to the Almighty, whose eyes shall fall upon this mausoleum of a young man taken from his friends, who may be consoled at his loss in seeing such funeral flowers spread upon his tomb. This inscription proposed in Council by the Count d'Estaing, commanding the first squadron sent by the king of France to his allies, has been engraved on this stone by order of Colonel Thomas Dawes, nominated for this object by the Government."—Friday, Sept. 28, 1778. The Admiral directed that all his fleet captains have copies made of the inscription on the tomb of M. de St. Sauveur for the information of the ships' crews.

No. 11.

EXTRACT FROM THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, LONDON.

[Vol. 48, p. 546.]

On the 23d of September a desperate riot happened at Boston, occasioned as it is said, by the bakers denying bread to the captured seamen in British vessels, while they were employed in amply supplying those in the fleet of Count d'Estaing. Several were killed in this affray, and two French officers of high rank were much hurt in endeavoring to quell it. The magistrates have since published a proclamation, offering a reward of three hundred dollars for the discovery of any of the ringleaders.

No. 12.

EXTRACT FROM THE HISTORY OF THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

[Hartford, Conn., 1851, p. 71.]

The conduct of the French officers, and even common sailors at Boston was truly exemplary. But this extreme circumspection did not prevent the occurrence of a violent affray between some Americans and French, which resulted in the death of the Chevalier de Saint Sauveur. The selectmen of the town, to allay the resentment of the French, showed themselves very solicitous to punish the offenders,

and declared that the tumult was fomented by English sailors who had been made prisoners, and deserters from the army of Burgoyne. Tranquillity was restored; the Count d'Estaing made no further inquiry into the affair; no offender was discovered; and the government of Massachusetts decreed a monument to be erected to Saint Sauveur.

No. 13.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF THE COMTE DE BREUGNON, OCT. 10, 1778.

[Stevens's Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America, Vol. 23
No 1974.]

A great misfortune has happened to me. Monseigneur Count de St. Sauveur, my brother-in-law, being in Boston by order of Count d'Estaing, three leagues from the vessel *le Tonnant*, working at the provisioning of the squadron, a number of soldier-bakers quarrelled there with the Americans. Count de St. Sauveur and M. Pléville went to them to put an end to the riot, and when they were both coming away, fifty rascals flung themselves upon them; my brother-in-law received a mortal blow with a stick over the right eye, of which he died seven days after. All the Commanders and the Governors of the country were distressed at it, and have added to what Count d'Estaing did me the honour to say to me all that was possible to do to express real regret at such a fatal occurrence amongst them.

I have the honor to be with profound respect,

Monseigneur,

Your very humble

and very obedient servant

BREUGNON.

No. 14.

EXTRACT FROM "FRENCH SAILORS AND SOLDIERS IN AMERICA DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1778-1783," BY VICOMTE DE NOAILLES, PARIS, 1903. p. 46.

[Translation.]

On the 8th of September a bloody fight occurred in the port of Boston, in which M. de Pléville as well as the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur were wounded. "Yesterday evening at ten o'clock," writes the Chevalier de Borda to the Comte d'Estaing on the 9th of September, "a quarrel occurred between the Americans and some of our sailors and soldiers which resulted most unfortunately. MM. de Pléville and de Saint-Sauveur who had gone there to quiet the disturbance were wounded." The latter was very seriously wounded. These two officers had rushed bravely to the assistance of their countrymen whom they believed to be in danger.

Investigations were instituted but without result.

In brief, Saint-Sauveur died on the 15th of September. The American authorities showed themselves very uneasy as to the consequences of his death.

General Hancock and the Town Council proposed to give him a grand funeral, but this offer was declined, and the interment took place without pomp in the vault of a chapel that Dr. Cooper had procured. "The generals and principal personages of the town are very much displeased, but it is to be hoped that they will be pacified," says a witness. Hear the account of this doleful ceremony exactly in accordance with the last wishes of the deceased: "Eight sailors of the *Tonnant* bore the coffin on their shoulders," says M. de Grandclos (secretary of the Royal Squadron). "I preceded them, with the sexton and grave-digger; the Recollet (a Franciscan monk), MM. de Borda, de Puységur and Piervères followed; the body servant of the deceased, and perhaps two or three Frenchmen, closed the procession; we started in this order at ten o'clock and arrived at the church, called the Chapel of the King, found the basement of the church illuminated with many candles, without ostentation. The vault was opened and the Reverend Father deposited the remains without ceremony; the door of the vault having been closed and padlocked, we returned to sign a certificate of interment which I had already drawn up. In fine, what we had been charged to do could not have been done with more precision and exactness." Could one read anything more cold and lugubrious? What a sad end for a young officer! The 26 and 27 September the French sailors were again subjected to the ill treatment of the Americans in Boston. By these rather prolonged details we have wished to give a clear idea of the state of feeling which existed after this affair which at that time took such astonishing proportions.

No. 15.

EXTRACT FROM "LA MARINE MILITAIRE DE LA FRANCE SOUS LE RÈGNE DE LOUIS XVI, PAR G. LACOUR-GAYET," 1905. pp. 171-173.

Immediately on his arrival in Boston, d'Estaing manifested an astonishing activity. Fearing with good reason that he might be pursued, he wished at least to avoid surprise. One of the good anchorages in the roadstead of Boston is Quincy Bay commanded by the island and bay of Nantasket, situated farther to the east. Three vessels only, the *Languedoc*, the *Marseillais* and the *Protecteur*, which were in urgent need of repairs, anchored at Quincy Bay; the nine others remained in Nantasket waters. The frigates, retired into the harbor itself, were almost entirely disarmed; their crews and equipments were for hours employed in the fortification of a vast intrenched camp. Three positions were occupied, commanding Quincy Bay: the very narrow peninsula of Hull which forms the western point of Nantasket; George's Island, which is occupied to-day by a strong fort, and Lovell's Island; behind this, Gallop's Island was also put into a state of defense. Bougainville, Broves, Chabert, d'Albert de Rions occupied these various positions; bristling with mortars they formed a very solid whole. Supported by these batteries, the nine vessels of the squadron who had suffered the least were arranged in a semi-circle in the roadstead of Nantasket; from a distance, says d'Estaing, they presented

"the most imposing order." Mounted upon the *César*, the Admiral was ready to repulse any attack. On the 31st of August, only three days after their arrival in Boston, when these defensive preparations were being carried forward with a feverish activity, the English squadron was sighted in the distance.

To the Americans, who were disposed to take but little account of the dangers encountered by the ships of d'Estaing, this was nothing but a myth. But the next day, September 1, it was seen to be really Howe's fleet, now from sixteen to eighteen sail strong; it had been reinforced by a part of Byron's squadron. The preparations for receiving them were not completed, but every one was at his post. The English showed themselves in the offing, without approaching even within cannon-range. They considered the position too well guarded to be attacked, too dangerous even to be blocked; one of their vessels, the *Saint-Albans* lost her anchors upon Cape Cod, to the south-east of Nantasket. They did nothing but show themselves and disappear. After their departure, the work on the fortifications was continued; the fleet was very soon protected from any surprise, and it was able at last to enjoy a few days in security.

This stay in Boston, however, which lasted a little over two months, was far from being a season of idleness. To procure masts and provisions in a country almost without resources; to treat with the government of Boston which was ill-disposed toward the Frenchmen on account of the pretended abandonment of Rhode Island: such a difficult task demanded no less than prodigious activity on the part of the Chevalier de Borda, the unlimited devotion of all the officers and the greatest diplomacy of d'Estaing. It is difficult to give an idea of the tremendous work accomplished in a few weeks, of putting into good order this squadron which had left Toulon imperfectly prepared, and which had never been revictualled since its departure.

A tragic incident came near making the situation of the French very difficult. A bakery had been established on land to provide fresh bread to the troops. Excited by some English sympathizers the Boston populace attempted to plunder it. A lieutenant of the ship *Tonnant*, the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur, interposed to quiet the tumult, and for this intervention he paid with his life. Another officer, Pléville Le Pelley, was severely wounded. The State of Massachusetts hastened to express to the Admiral its sincere regrets; by a decision of September 16, it ordered a monument to be erected to the unfortunate officer. In order not to provoke any counter-manifestation, d'Estaing had caused the body of Saint-Sauveur to be interred at night; the Chevalier de Borda alone had represented the squadron at this sad ceremony.

Wishing to banish these unhappy recollections, the government of Boston gave a grand banquet to the admiral and officers of the squadron on the 25th of September. The reception was very cordial; there were toasts to America, to France, and to innumerable other persons and things. The first toast of the Franco-American alliance was perhaps hardly in conformity with the protocol; but its very exuberance was symbolic of the cordiality existing between the sailors of Louis XVI. and the militia of Washington.

CIVIL WAR SKETCHES

III

CONFEDERATE FINANCE IN ALABAMA

(Concluded.)

DEBTS, STAY LAWS, SEQUESTRATION

IN the Secession Convention the question of indebtedness to Northern creditors came up, and Watts of Montgomery proposed confiscation, in case of war, of the property of alien enemies and of debts due Northern creditors. The proposal was supported by several members who declared that the threat of confiscation would do much to promote peace. But the majority of the convention were opposed to any measure looking toward confiscation, and the matter was carried over for the Confederate government to settle.⁵³

Stay laws were enacted in Alabama on February 8, 1861, and on December 10, 1861. The Confederate Provisional Congress enacted a law May 21, 1861, that debtors to persons in the North (except in Delaware, Maryland, Missouri and the District of Columbia) be prohibited from paying their debts during the war.⁵⁴ They should pay the amount of the debt into the Confederate treasury and receive a certificate relieving them from their debts, transferring it to the Confederate treasury. A Confederate law of November 17, 1862, provided that when payment of the interest on a debt was proffered in Confederate treasury notes and refused, it should be unlawful for the plaintiff to secure more than one-fourth of one per cent. interest. On August 30, 1861, the C. S. A. Congress in retaliation for the confiscation and destruction of the property of Confederate citizens, passed the Sequestration Act, which held all property of alien enemies (except citizens of the border States) as indemnity for such destruction and devastations.⁵⁵ Under the Sequestra-

⁵³ Smith, *Debates*, pp. 174-183.

⁵⁴ Stat.-at-Large, Prov. Congress, C. S. A.

⁵⁵ Stat.-at-Large, Prov. Congress, 2d Sess.; McPherson, *Rebellion*, pp. 203, 204; European merchants and capitalists also had a large trade with the South when the war broke out, and thus sustained great losses. They had made large advances to Southern planters and merchants, and were also interested in property in the South. Proceeds were remitted to foreign creditors or owners in Confederate or State currency or bonds, for there was no other form of remittance. —Robertson, *Confederate Debt and Private Southern Debts*. (English pamphlet.)

tion Act receivers were appointed in each county to take possession of all property belonging to alien enemies. They were empowered to interrogate all lawyers, bank officials, officials of corporations engaged in foreign trade, and all persons and agents engaged for persons engaged in foreign trade, for the purpose of discovering such property. The proceeds were to be held for the indemnity of loyal citizens suffering under the confiscation laws of the United States.⁵⁶ Later the property thus seized was sold and the money paid into the Confederate treasury.⁵⁷ In the last days of the war, (February 15, 1865) the Act was extended to include the property of disloyal citizens who had gone within the Northern lines to escape military service, or who had entered the Union service to fight against the Confederacy.⁵⁸

In December 1861, a law was passed by the Legislature which provided that no suit by or for an alien enemy for debt or money should be prosecuted in any court in Alabama. No execution was to be issued to an alien enemy, and suits already brought could be dismissed on the motion of the defendant.⁵⁹ In Alabama much of the time of the Confederate District Courts was taken up by sequestration cases. In fact, they did little else. However, but little money was ever turned into the Confederate treasury from this source.⁶⁰

Just as the State sent nearly all its coin through the blockade to pay the interest of its London debt, so the Mobile, Montgomery, or Selma merchant cancelled his indebtedness, and sent money, as he was able, during the early years of the war, to his Northern and European creditors. Most debts due to Northerners were concealed from the government. The stringent laws passed against it were of no avail. As a source of revenue the sequestration of the property of alien enemies hardly paid expenses. After all, however, the Northern creditor lost nearly all his accounts in the South in the general wreck of property in 1865.

TRADE, BARTER, PRICES

After the outbreak of war, business was soon almost at a standstill. The government monopolized all means of transportation for military

⁵⁶ McPherson, *Rebellion*, pp. 203, 204; *Acts of Prov. Congress*, Aug. 30, 1861; Benjamin's *Instructions to Receivers*, Sept. 12, 1861.

⁵⁷ Stat.-at-Large, *Prov. Cong.*, 3d Sess., Feb. 15, 1862.

⁵⁸ McPherson, *Rebellion*, p. 613.

⁵⁹ *Acts of Ala.*, Dec. 10, 1861.

⁶⁰ Two years after the passage of the Sequestration Law, its entire proceeds in the Confederacy amounted to less than \$2,000,000.—Pollard, *Lost Cause*, p. 220.

purposes. There were few good railroads in the State and few good wagon roads. In one section there would be plenty while seventy-five or a hundred miles away there would be great suffering from want. Depreciated currency and the impressment laws made the producer wary of going to market at all. He preferred to keep what he had and live upon it, effecting changes in the old way of barter. Cows, hogs, chickens, mules, farm implements, cotton, corn, peas—all were exchanged and re-exchanged for one another. The farmer tended more and more to become independent of the merchant and of money. Consequently the townspeople suffered. Confederate money, at first received at par, soon began to depreciate, though the most patriotic people considered it their duty to accept it at its par value.⁶¹

At the end of 1861, Confederate money⁶² was worth as much as Northern currency, but had depreciated. State money was worth more than Confederate, but it also was much depreciated. Often private credit was better than public, and individuals in need of a more stable circulating medium issued notes or promises to pay, which in the immediate neighborhood passed current at their face value. Great quantities of this "card money" or "shin-plasters" were issued, and in some communities it almost supplanted the legal money as a more reliable medium of exchange. The Alabama Legislature passed severe laws against the practice of issuing "card money," but with little effect.

The effect of the depreciation of paper money was the same as a tax so far as most people were concerned. Forced into circulation, it supported the government, it gradually depreciated and each holder lost a little. Finally, when almost worthless, it was practically repudiated by the State and by the Confederacy, and funding laws were passed providing for the redemption of old notes at a low rate in new issues. Deprecia-

⁶¹ Suspension of specie payments had been made in order to prevent a drain on the banks. The Confederate government took possession of some of the coin, while much was used in the contraband and blockade trade. All this contributed to discredit Confederate paper currency.—Pollard, *Lost Cause*, p. 421.—In May, 1862, Gen. Beauregard seized \$500,000 in coin from a bank in Jackson, Ala. The coin belonged to a New Orleans bank and had been sent out to prevent confiscation by Gen. Butler. Confederate money was almost worthless at Mobile in 1864, while in the interior of the State it still had a fair value.

⁶² Confederate paper held up well in 1861 and 1862, though prices were very high. The people were opposed to fixing a depreciated value to Confederate money, but they were forced to do so by speculators. The money was worth more the farther away from Richmond, though comparison with gold should not be made as gold was scarce and prices in gold fell. Board which formerly cost \$2 a day could now be had for fifty cents in gold. Gold was not a standard of value, but an article of commerce with a fictitious value.—Pollard, *Lost Cause*, p. 425.

tion of the currency caused extravagance and other more evil results. A person who handled much money felt that he must at once get rid of all that came into his possession in order to avoid loss by depreciation. Consequently there was speculation, reckless spending, and extravagance. Money would be spent for anything offered for sale. If useful things were not to be had, then luxuries would be bought, such as silks, fancy articles, liquors, etc., from blockade-runners. This was especially the case in Selma, Mobile, and Montgomery, and in Northern Alabama. Persons formerly of good character frequently drifted into extravagant and dissipated habits because they tried to spend their money, and there were not enough legitimate ways in which to do so.

Depreciation, speculation, and scarcity caused prices to rise, especially the prices of the necessities of life. These varied in the different sections of the State. In Mobile, in 1862, prices were as follows:

Shoes, pair.....	\$25 00
Boots, pair.....	40 00
Overcoats, each.....	25 00
Hats, each.....	15 00
Flour, barrel.....	\$40 00 to 60 00
Corn, bushel.....	3 25
Butter, pound.....	1 75
Bacon, pound.....	10 00
Soap, pound (cheap).....	1 00
Candles, pound.....	2 50
Sugar, pound.....	\$ 0 50 to 75
Coffee, pound.....	1 75 to 3 25
Tea, pound.....	10 00 to 20 00
Cotton and wool cards, pair.....	2 00
Board per week at the Battle House, in 1862, \$3 50, in 1863, 8 00 ⁶³	

In May, 1862, at Huntsville, then in the hands of the Union forces, some prices were, in greenbacks:

Green tea (poor quality), pound.....	\$4 00
Common rough trousers, pair.....	13 00
Boots, pair.....	25 00
Shoes, pair.....	\$5 00 to 12 00 ⁶⁴

⁶³ Clark, *Finance and Banking, Memorial Record*, Vol. I, p. 341; *Two Months in the Confederate States*, by an English Merchant, pp. 111, 115; DeBow's *Review* for 1866.

⁶⁴ O. R., Ser. IV, Vol. X, Pt. II, p. 639.

In 1863, in South Alabama, in Confederate currency:

Meat, pound.....	\$4 00
Lard, pound.....	6 00
Salt, per sack at the works.....	\$80 00 to 95 00
Wheat, bushel.....	10 00
Corn, bushel.....	3 00
A cow (worth \$15 in 1860).....	127 00 ⁶⁵

In March, 1864, prices in Selma:

Salt, bushel.....	\$30 00
Calico, yard.....	10 00
Women's common shoes, pair.....	60 00
Men's rough boots, pair.....	125 00
Cotton cards (worth \$1.75 in Conn.).....	85 00 ⁶⁶

In August, 1864, prices in Mobile:

Flour, barrel.....	\$250 00 to \$300 00
Bacon, pound.....	3 00 to 5 00
Cotton thread, spool.....	6 00 to 12 00
Calico, yard.....	12 50 to 15 00
Common shoes, pair.....	150 00 to 175 00
Boots, pair.....	250 00 to 300 00
Nails, lb.....	4 00
Cotton shirts (each worth 50 to 60 c. in Mass.).....	50 00 to 60 00 ⁶⁷

In November, 1864, Colonel Dabney paid the following prices in Montgomery:

Bacon, pound.....	\$3 50
Beef, pound.....	\$2 00 to \$2 50
Potatoes, bushel.....	6 00
Wood, cord.....	50 00
Board, per day.....	30 00 ⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Ball, *Clarke County*, pp. 294, 295; Miller, p. 230; oral accounts.

⁶⁶ *New York Times*, Apr. 5, 1864 (from Mobile papers).

⁶⁷ *New York Times*, Sept. 6, 1864.

⁶⁸ Smedes, *A Southern Planter*, p. 226.

In Russell county and East Alabama, the following prices were paid in 1863-4:

A calico dress (9 yards).....	\$108 00
A plain straw hat.....	100 00
Half a quire of note paper.....	40 00
Morocco shoes.....	375 00
Coffee, pound.....	\$30 00 to 70 00
Corn, bushel.....	12 00 to 13 00
Wax candles, each.....	10
Wages, per day.....	30 00
Soldier's pay (which he seldom received), per month..	11 00 ⁶⁹

In Southwest Alabama, in December 1864, prices were:

A mule (worth before the war \$75 to \$120) .	\$800 00 to \$1200 00
A horse (worth before the war \$120 to \$250) ..	1200 00 to 2500 00
A wagon and team cost.....	2940 00
Beef cattle, each.....	930 00 ⁷⁰

At the close of 1864, in Mobile, \$1 in gold was worth \$25 in State currency, and prices were as follows:

Wheat, bushel.....	\$30 00 to \$40 00
Corn, bushel.....	10 00
Coffee, pound.....	20 00
Fresh beef, pound.....	150 00
Bacon, pound.....	4 00
Domestics, yard.....	5 00
Calico, yard.....	15 00
A horse.....	\$1500 00 to 2000 00
Salt, sack.....	150 00 to 200 00
Quinine, ounce.....	150 00 ⁷¹

⁶⁹ Hague, *Blockaded Family, passim*; *Our Women in the War, passim*; Jacobs, *Drug Conditions*.

⁷⁰ Ball, *Clarke County*, p. 501.

⁷¹ Miller, p. 232. A negro went to a conscript camp, in 1864, with a fifty-cent jug of whiskey. He gave his master a bottle full from the jug, replacing what he had taken out by water. The resulting mixture he sold for \$5 a drink, a drink being a cap box full. Each drink poured out of the jug was replaced by the same measure of water. In this way he made \$300 before the mixture was so diluted that the thirsty soldiers would not buy.—*Relation of the negro's master*.

The War Department published on September 26, 1864, the following prices ⁷² as agreed upon by the Commissioners of February 17, 1864 for the States east of the Mississippi:

Bacon, pound.....	\$ 2 50
Fresh beef, pound.....	70
Flour, barrel.....	40 00
Meal, bushel.....	4 00
Rice, pound.....	30
Peas, bushel.....	6 50
Sugar, pound.....	3 00
Coffee, pound.....	6 00
Candles, pound.....	3 75
Soap, pound.....	1 00
Vinegar, gallon.....	2 50
Molasses, gallon.....	10 00
Salt, pound.....	30

The Commissioners' prices were always lower than the prevailing market price.

A little property or labor would pay a large debt. Merchants did not want to be paid in money, and were sorry to see a debtor come in with great rolls of almost worthless currency. Barter was increasingly resorted to. There were so many different series and issues of money and so many regulations concerning it that no one could know them all, and this operated to discredit the currency. Besides, it was known that much of it was counterfeited at the North and quantities sent South. Prices advanced rapidly in 1865; State money was still worth more than Confederate money; though it was much depreciated. Board was worth \$600 a month; meals, \$10 to \$25 each; a boiled egg, \$2; a cup of imitation coffee, \$5. After the news of Lee's surrender, few would accept the paper money, though for two or three months longer, in remote districts, State money remained in circulation.

When Gen. Wilson's army was marching into Montgomery, a young man asked an old negro woman who stood gazing at the soldiers if she could give him a piece of paper to light his pipe. She fumbled in her pocket and handed him a dollar State bill. "Why, auntie, that is

⁷² O. R., Ser. IV, Vol. III, p. 686.

money!" remarked the young man. "Haw, Haw!" the old crone chuckled, "Light it, massa, don't you see de State done gone up?"⁷⁸

But for another month State money circulated in Montgomery.

WALTER L. FLEMING.

MORGANTOWN, W. VA.

⁷⁸ *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, Apr. 18, 1865.

"UNDER WHICH (FLAG), BEZONIAN?"

Correspondent Curtis has written the Chicago *Record-Herald* a letter from Baton Rouge. "The denizens of this quaint old town," he says, "have saluted a larger number of flags than any other community in the United States—both the fleur-de-lis and the tricolor of France, the orange and red of Spain, the English Union Jack, the American flag, that of the Republic of West Florida, of the State of Louisiana, of the Confederate States of America and finally the Stars and Stripes."



THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, WITH
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CONDITIONS IN THE ROYAL COLONY
OF NEW YORK.

CHAPTER II

THE PRESS IN MASSACHUSETTS

IT was in this colony of Massachusetts that the art of printing was first exercised on American soil by an English-speaking people,¹ the Reverend Joseph Glover, a clergyman of Sutton in the county of Surrey, England,² having, about the year 1638, collected the money necessary for the purchasing of type and press.³ In 1639 the first book, "The Freeman's Oath" appeared, and towards the work the attitude of the colonial government appears to have been favorable since we learn from the MS. records of the colony that "Att a general Court held at Boston, on tre eighth day of the eighth moneth (October) 1641, Steeven Daye being the first that set upon printing, is graunted three hundred acres of land, where it may be convenient without prejudice to any town."

A second printer of the period was Samuel Green who, some seventeen years later petitioned the General Court for a grant of land, in regard to which we read, "At the second sessions of the General Court held at Boston the 19th of October, 1658, in answer to the Petition of Samuel Green; of Cambridge, printer. The Courte judgeth it meete for his Encouragement to graunt him three hundred acres of Land where it is to be found." Apparently it was deemed neither necessary nor expedient at this time to lay any restrictions upon the printer and his press, but a change of sentiment appears in 1662, when,⁴ after the publication of some books treating religious matters in a way thought to be dangerous, the General Court appointed Capt. Daniel Gookins, one of the Assistants, and the Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, the minister of Cambridge, as licensers of the press, all printing except as allowed by them being prohibited. A reaction is evidenced a few months later when on May 27, 1663, the

¹ John Winthrop, Hist. of New England, Vol. I, p. 348.

² Lechford's MS. Note-book, p. 119.

³ Major Edward Johnson, Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England, London Edition, p. 129.

⁴ Thomas Hutchinson, Hist. of Mass. I, p. 236.

General Court "Ordered that the printing press be at liberty as formerly, till this Court shall take further order, and the late order is hereby repealed."⁵

This liberty of action was however only temporary and we next find "at a General Court called by order of the Governor, Deputy Governor, and other Magistrates, held at Boston, 19th of October, 1664. For the preventing of irregularities and abuse to the authority of this country, by the Printing Press, it is ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that ther shall no Printing Presse be allowed in any Towne within this jurisdiction, but in Cambridge, nor shall any person or persons presume to print any Copie but by the allowance first had and obtained under the hands of such as this Court shall from tyme to tyme Impower,—The President of the Colledge, Mr. John Shearman, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell and Mr. Thomas Shepheard, or any two of them to survey such Copie or Coppies and to prohibit or allow the same according to this order,—and in case of non-observance of this order, to forfeit the Presse to the Country and be disabled from Vsing any such profession within this jurisdiction for the time to come. Provided this order shall not extend to the obstruction of any Coppies which this Court shall Judge meete to order to be published in Print."

Not long after (1667) the General Court interfered in a case where the licensers had given permission to print—"This Court being informed that there is now in the presse reprinting, a book that Imitates of Christ, or to that purpose, written by Thomas Kempis, a popish minister, where in is contayned some things that are lesse safe to be infused amongst the people of this place. Doe commend to the licensers of the Presse the more full revisale thereof, and that in the mean time there be no further progresse in that work."⁶ On this Thomas Hutchinson remarks,⁷ "In a constitution less popular this would have been thought too great an abridgement of the subject's liberty." In 1674 it was ordered "Whereas there is now granted that there may be a Printing Presse elsewhere than at Cambridge, for the better regulation of the Presse it is ordered and enacted that the Revd. Mr. Thomas Thatcher and Revd. Increase Mather of Boston, be added unto the former Licensers, and they are hereby empowered to act accordingly." At the death of John Foster, the setting up of whose press in Boston had been the occasion of the order just quoted, it was thought desirable that printing

⁵ MS. Records of the Colony, quoted by Thomas Hutchinson, I, 958.

⁶ MS. Records of the Colony.

⁷ Hist. of Mass. I, p. 236.

should be continued in Boston, and Samuel Sewall, although not a printer by profession, was prevailed upon to take up the work. It may be interesting to read the license which he thus received,⁸ "Samuel Sewall, at the Instance of some Friends with respect to the accommodation of the Publick, being prevailed with to undertake the Management of the Printing Presse in Boston, late under the command of Mr. John Foster, deceased, liberty is accordingly granted to him for the same by this court, and none may presume to set up any other Presse without the like liberty first granted." Speaking of Gov. Andros and his rule in Massachusetts, Thomas Hutchinson⁹ remarks, "One of the first acts of power, after the change of government, was the restraint of the Press.¹⁰ Randolph was the licenser. There was not so much room to complain of this proceeding as if the press had been at liberty before. It only changed its keeper, having been long under restraint during the former administration."

There is in the Colonial State Paper Office in London a copy, the only one now existing of the first issue of the first newspaper to appear in the English colonies. It was published by Benjamin Harris at the London Coffee, Boston, and printed by Richard Pierce, bearing the date of Sept. 25, 1690. Without a name unless the words "Publick Occurrences" on the first page was its name, with printing on but three sides of a folded sheet and confining itself to a short summary of Indian and foreign affairs, the paper might seem to be harmless, but it attracted official attention at once. It had mentioned the conduct of the war with the Indians and had made some slight remarks on local affairs. For this reason the first issue was also its last. Buckingham¹¹ says of it, "Immediately upon its publication it was noticed by the legislative authorities. Four days afterwards, they spoke of it as a pamphlet,—stated that it came out contrary to law, and contained 'reflections of a very high nature.' They strictly forbade 'anything in print without license first obtained from those appointed by the government.' Perhaps it was to give him something in return for the suppression of his paper that in 1692 Harris was appointed "Printer to His Excellency the Governor and Council," a position which he held for two years after which time he returned to England and published a paper there. But although his attempt in America was a failure yet it was at least the beginning, and

⁸ Records of the Colony for 1681.

⁹ History of Massachusetts, I, 318.

¹⁰ Edward.

¹¹ Reminiscenses, I, p. 1.

the treatment he received was the same meted out to each of his successors who dared to be original.

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century the influence over the publications of the press exercised by the clergy naturally continued to be very great. And in cases where doctrinal matters were in dispute it appears to have been very difficult to find a publisher. In a pamphlet with the title "Gospel Order Revived, Being an Answer to a Book lately set forth by the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, President of Harvard College, etc. entitled, The Order of the Gospel etc. Dedicated to the Churches of Christ in New England," and bearing the imprint "Printed in the Year 1700," but without either name of publisher or place of issue, we find the statement made, "The Reader is desired to take notice that the Press in Boston is so much under the aw of the Reverend Author whom we answer, and his Friends, that we could not obtain of the Printer there to print the following sheets, which is the only true reason why we have sent the Copy so far for its impression." After the appearance of this pamphlet a rather fierce war of statements and counterstatements ensued, in the course of which Bartholomew Green, the Boston publisher who had been asked to publish the "Answer" and had declined, in the course of a paper issued in justification of his refusal said "The Sum is, Whenas no Name appeared on the Title Page; nor so much as the name of any Author was told me, when I requested it,—I had no opportunity to read it over myself,—the Piece being also Controversial; I concluded that it would be altogether inconvenient for me to print it upon my own head without asking advice, for which I referr'd myself to the Honourable William Stoughton, Esq; our Lieutenant Governour—Nor was it a new thing to Show Copies to the Lieutenant Governour in order to their being printed. Mr. Seward's 'Phænomena Apocalyptic' was taken off the Press and carried to the Lieutenant Governor for his Allowance. By the same Token, one Half Sheet being wrought off too soon; the Author was at the Charge to Print it over again, to gratify His Honour in some Alterations that could not otherwise be made.' Besides other instances that might be given."¹² Here, Green in his desire to show his position, ends the explanations (some lines after the portion quoted), with the statement that he is a poor man and cannot afford to antagonize the powers that be,—making it very clear that the liberty of printing, as we understand the term to-day, was a thing undreamed of in his time and place.

¹² Thomas, Vol. I, App. I.

From 1700 to 1720 it would seem from the absence of cases of any importance that the press in Massachusetts, if not free, was not led by party spirit to enter on courses which would cause the government to interfere. But in 1721 in the record of the Council it is stated that Benjamin Gray was brought before that body charged with the offense of having published a pamphlet entitled "A Letter to a Clergyman in the Massachusetts Bay" and said to contain "expressions which greatly reflect on His Majesty's Government and people of this Province, and tend to disturb the Public Peace." For this Gray was ordered to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General. The result of the matter is not known. Again, in 1722 James Franklin the brother of Benjamin Franklin, and publisher of the *New England Courant*,—the third Boston newspaper,—began a series of articles in which the government, and even the clergy and many prevailing views of the day were warmly attacked. "Whatever we may think of Franklin's course he certainly initiated a new era in journalism. While he suffered in purse and person, the press gained in freedom and independence. The *News Letter* and the *Gazette* in Boston, and the *Mercury* in Philadelphia, the other papers then published, being in the hands of office holders, were circumspect in the utterance of their views. But Franklin was made of different stuff. His paper was the first rebel organ in America. With the leaven of '76 in his soul, he was bold and outspoken, and commented on the abuses of the times as he saw them."¹⁸

In reply Dr. Increase Mather issued an open letter to the public, published in the *Boston Gazette* of Jan. 29th, 1722, in which, among other things, he says, "I can well remember when the Civil Government would have taken an effective Course to suppress such a Cursed Libel which if it be not done I am afraid some Awful Judgement will come upon this Land, and that the wrath of God will arise and there will be no remedy."

About the same time Franklin had ventured in the *Courant* of June 11, 1722, to criticise the government of Massachusetts for its tardiness in dealing with piracy off its coasts and had compared its actions unfavorably with those of Rhode Island. The criticism would not seem to us to be of a very decided character, it being in the form of a supposed letter from Rhode Island, concluding with, "We are advised from Boston that the Government of the Massachusetts are fitting out a ship to go after the pirates, to be commanded by Captain Peter Papillon, and 'tis thought

¹⁸ Hudson, *History of Journalism*, p. 66.

he will sail sometime this month, wind and weather permitting." This veiled criticism the Council took umbrage at, and at the meeting of the Council the next day, we find the following action.¹⁴ "Ordered, That the publisher of said paper be forthwith sent for to answer for the same, and accordingly James Franklyn, of Boston, printer, was sent for, examined, and owned that he had published the said paper." The Council then resolved that the paragraph from the letter quoted above "Was a high affront to this government" and Franklin was arrested and put in prison. The records of the next meeting of the Council again refer to the matter:¹⁵ "In Council, 20 June 1722. A petition of James Franklyn, printer, humbly showing that he is truly sensible and heartily sorry for the offense he has given to this Court in the late Courant, relating to the fitting out of a ship by the government, and truly acknowledges his inadvertency and folly therein, in affronting the government, as also his indiscretion and indecency when before this Court, for all of which he intreats the Court's forgiveness, and praying a discharge from the stone prison where he is confined by order of the Court, and that he may have the liberty of the yard, he being much indisposed and suffering in his health by the said confinement; a certificate of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston being offered with the said petition." "In the House of Representatives read, and Voted, that James Franklin, now a prisoner in the stone gaol, may have the liberty of the prison house and yard, upon his giving security for his faithful abiding there.

"In Council, read and concurred; consented to. SAM'L SHUTE."

Ultimately the Council, on July 5th, 1722 passed the following resolution: "Whereas in the Paper called the New England Courant, printed weekly by James Franklin, many passages have been published boldly reflecting on His Majesty's Government and on the Administration of it in this Province, the Ministry, Churches and Colleges; and it very often contains paragraphs that tend to fill the Readers' minds with vanity to the dishonor of God and disservice of Good Men. Resolved, that no such Weekly Paper be hereafter printed without the same be first perused and allowed by the Secretary as has been usual. And that the said Franklin give Security before the Justices of the Superior Court in the Sum of £100 to be of the good Behaviour to the end of next fall Sessions of this Court." Sent down for concurrence." "Read and Non-concurred."

¹⁴ MS. Records of General Court.

¹⁵ MS. Records of General Court.

Although this attempt at the imposition of a fine did not succeed, yet Franklin was released only after an imprisonment of four weeks.

It does not appear that these proceedings had any effect in checking the freedom with which Franklin and his friends chose to comment on public men and measures. The paper of July 30th, just after the imprisonment of James Franklin, is occupied almost entirely with a chapter of Magna Charta, and the comment of a correspondent, intended to show the illegality of the proceedings of the government. Almost every paper, for several weeks, contained remarks that irritated,—and probably were intended to irritate,—those in authority, by raising a laugh at their expense.

At the beginning of January, 1723, Governor Shute sailed for England and after announcing this fact on Jan. 14, 1723, the Courant added a letter in which the writer said that "it would seem that any Governor, departing from a government with so much privacy and displeasure, cannot reasonably be supposed to promote the interests of that government when he arrives at the British Court." For that reason the writer proposes that "two persons, born among us, of tried abilities and address, be, as soon as possible, sent to the Court of Great Britain there to vindicate the proceedings of the Honorable House of Representatives, from time to time, since the misunderstandings that have arisen between the Honorable House and Governor Shute." The communication ends with—"Quere. Whether, (pursuant to the charter,) the ministers of this province ought now to pray for Samuel Shute, Esq. as our immediate governor, and at the same time, pray for the Lieutenant-Governor as commander-in-chief? Or, whether their praying for his success in his voyage, if he designs to hurt the province, (as some suppose,) be not in effect to pray for our destruction?"

On the same day there is the following record of proceedings in the General Court:—"In Council, Jan. 14, 1722-3—Whereas the paper, called the New England Courant, of this day's date, contains many passages, in which the Holy Scriptures are perverted, and the Civil Government, Ministers, and People of this Province highly reflected on, Ordered, that Wm. Taler, Saml. Sewall, and Penn Townsend, Esqrs. with such as the Honorable House of Representatives shall join, be a committee to consider and report what is proper for this Court to do thereon."

The House concurred and a report was made by the committee as follows; "The Committee appointed to consider of the paper called 'The New England Courant,' published Monday the fourteenth current, are humbly of opinion that the tendency of the said paper is to mock religion, and to bring it into contempt, that the Holy Scriptures are therein profanely abused, that the revered and faithful ministers of the Gospel are injuriously reflected on, His Majesty's Government affronted, and the peace and good order of His Majesty's subjects of this Province disturbed, by the said 'Courant'; and for precaution of the like offense for the future, the Committee humbly propose, That James Franklin, the printer and publisher thereof, be strictly forbidden by this Court to print or publish the New England Courant, or any other pamphlet or paper of the like nature, Except it be first supervised by the Secretary of this Province; and the Justices of His Majesty's Sessions of the Peace for this County of Suffolk, at their next adjournment, be directed to take sufficient bonds of the same Franklin, for Twelve Months' time."

To evade this order the name of Benjamin Franklin, (then an apprentice in his brother's office) was substituted for that of James, and under his nominal ownership the Courant continued to appear until its demise in 1727.

In the years between the prosecution of the Courant and the middle of the eighteenth century, we find little in Massachusetts for our subject. There was a prosecution in 1724 of John Chickley, Bookseller of Boston, undertaken to punish him for importing and selling a work in which Church organization and doctrine in Massachusetts were attacked, an action resulting in a fine of £50; and also an indictment of Thomas Fleet in 1741 for publishing news from England reflecting on the administration of Sir Robert Walpole. The following is the Record of the proceedings in the case of the latter. "At a Council, held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Tuesday, the 9th day of March, 1741.

"Whereas, there is published in the weekly paper called the Boston Evening Post of yesterday's date, a paragraph in the following words; 'Last Sunday Capt. Gibbs arrived here from Madeira, who informs us, that before he left that Island, Capt. Dandridge, in one of His Majesty's ships of forty guns, came in there from England, and gave an account, that the Parliament had called for all Papers relating to the War, and 'twas expected the Right Hon. Sir Robert Walpole would be

taken into custody in a very few days. Capt. Dandridge was going upon the Virginia station to relieve the valiant and vigilant Knight there, almost worn out in the service of his country, and for which he has a chance to be rewarded with a flag.'

" Which paragraph contains a scandalous and libelous Reflection upon His Majesty's Administration, and may tend very much to inflame the minds of His Majesty's subjects here and disaffect them to his Government.

" Therefore, Ordered, That the Attorney-General do, as soon as may be, file an Information against Thomas Fleet, the Publisher of the said Paper, in His Majesty's Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize, and General Gaol Delivery, in order to his being prosecuted for his said offense, as law and justice requires.

W. SHIRLEY.

" Copy Examined, per J. Willard, Sec."

No further steps were ever taken in this matter, for the truth of the statement was too plain to admit of any discussion, but in spite of that the animus that directed the Council was plainly visible; and the inhabitants saw in this but another attempt to control the liberty of the press.

Hardly had this matter been settled than Fleet plunged into a theological quarrel. He published a sermon by John Wesley on "Free Grace," an action on his part which resulted in his receiving several sharp attacks from the pulpit, the Rev. John Morehead being especially severe. In the "Post" of Mar. 30, 1741, Fleet makes a reply. After stating that he had published the sermon, not because he liked it but because he thought there was a demand for it, he goes on to say, "Of all the books of controversy that I have ever read, (and I have read some) I never met with one that blamed the printers. The great Dr. Edwards, who, for his knack of finding fault, might have claimed the office of Accuser-General of all Europe, and made as free with authors as any man ever did, never that I find, meddled with the printers; and it is but of late, that some weak men have thought it the safest and easiest way to answer books, and prejudice people against authors and printers, to whisper against them in chimney corners, or declaim in public and more exalted places, where none may with safety oppose them, or speak in their own defense." In Dec., 1742, writing in the same strain, the occasion being another religious dispute, he said 'We are credibly informed that an

eminent minister of this town has lately warned his people against reading of pamphlets and newspapers, wherein are contained religious controversies. This seems a bold stroke, and a considerable step, (if the advice should be regarded,) towards that state of ignorance, in which, it seems, some folk would willingly see the body of this people enveloped. The next stroke may probably be at the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS."

The next case that we shall take up, namely that of the Fowle Brothers, occurred in 1754. Daniel and Zechariah Fowle, although closely associated, had separate printing establishments, and the younger brother, Zechariah Fowle, was prevailed upon to print a pamphlet entitled "The Monster of Monsters," satirizing the actions of the General Court of the time and particularly an Act in regard to excise. The pamphlet having appeared without an imprint suspicion fell on Daniel Fowle, and the House of Representatives considering itself aggrieved passed the following resolution, dated Oct. 24, 1755; "Resolved, that the pamphlet entitled 'The Monster of Monsters' is a false, scandalous Libel, reflecting upon the proceedings of the House in general, and on many worthy members in particular, in breach of the privilege thereof.

"Ordered, That the said pamphlet be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, below the Court-House, in King-Street, Boston, and that the Messenger see the same carried in to execution. Resolved, That the Messenger of the House do forthwith take into custody Daniel Fowle, of Boston, Printer, who, they are informed, was concerned in printing and publishing the said pamphlet, and that the Speaker issue his warrant for that purpose."

He was accordingly arrested and taken before the House. The particulars of the case which followed are taken from a pamphlet, "The Total Eclipse of Liberty," written and published by D. Fowle himself. The Speaker asked him whether he knew anything of the printing of the book. Having examined it, he said that he could not have printed it for he had no such type.

Speaker: "Do you know anything relating to the said Book?"

Fowle asked to have the House decide whether he must answer the question. Some members answering "Yes" he said he had bought some copies and had sold them at his shop.

Speaker: "Who did you buy them of?"

Fowle: "They were, I believe, sent by a young man, but I cannot tell his name."

Speaker: "Who did he live with?"

Fowle: "With Royal Tyler."

Speaker: "Did you have any conversation with him [Tyler] about them?"

Fowle: "I believe I might, in the same manner I had with many others; not that I thought him the author. It was never offered to me to print."

Speaker: "Did any of your hands assist in doing it?"

Fowle: "I believe my negro might, as he sometimes worked for my brother."

Speaker: "Has your brother any help?"

Fowle: "No."

Speaker: "Did you see any of it whilst printing?"

Fowle: "Yes."

Speaker: "Whose house was it in?"

Fowle: "I think it was my brother's."

Speaker: "Where does he live?"

Fowle: "Down by Cross Street."

Speaker: "What is his name?"

Fowle: "Zechariah."

After this Fowle was by order of the House imprisoned in the jail where he was confined for two days and then told to leave. He afterwards endeavored to obtain redress but without success. His brother, Zechariah, was not arrested, being at that time ill; and Tyler, on being brought to the House and questioned, refused to answer, and having been committed for contempt was soon released.

As the period approached when the Revolutionary War was to break out, those who were contending for the principles of liberty began to per-

ceive what a very important weapon the press might become. Accordingly it is not unusual to find town-meetings taking the matter up. At Worcester the instructions for the representative to the General Court, Joshua Bigelow, reported to the town meeting by Ephraim Doolittle, Nathan Baldwin, and Jonathan Stone, May 18th, 1767, are typical of the class:—

"To Mr. Joshua Bigelow;

"SIR;

"As we have devolved upon you the important trust of representing us at the Great and General Court, the year ensuing, we, your constituents, therefore, think it our duty and interest to give you the following instructions relative to some of your conduct in said trust.

"I. That you use your influence to maintain and continue that harmony and good will between Great Britain and this Province which may be most conducive to the prosperity of each, by a steady and firm attachment to English liberty and the charter rights of this Province, and that you willingly suffer no invasions, either through pretext of precedency, or any other way whatsoever; and if you find any encroachments upon our charter rights, that you use your utmost ability to obtain constitutional redress. . . . Take special care of the liberty of the press."¹⁶

One of the names most widely known in connection with the struggle for the Liberty of the Press is that of Isaiah Thomas. Born in 1749, and trained from childhood to the work of a printer, his early years were spent in wandering from Charleston, South Carolina to Halifax, Nova Scotia. It may be interesting, as showing the reputation which the printers of the New England Colonies had for independence, to give an account of an incident which occurred during Thomas' stay in Halifax. Anthony Henry, the printer in Halifax for whom in 1766 the youth was working, was but an indifferent craftsman and left much to Thomas. The latter had brought with him from Boston notions of liberty, and finding that the Gazette of Halifax was printed on stamped paper, he inserted a paragraph stating that "the people of the province were disgusted with the Stamp Act." The master was called to account by the government for having printed sedition, but laid the blame on his journeyman who was summoned to appear before the Secretary of the Province, when the following conversation ensued:

¹⁶ Wm. Lincoln. *History of Worcester, Mass.* p. 68.

Q. "Are you the young New England man who prints for Henry?"

A. "Yes, sir."

Q. "How dare you publish in the Gazette that the people of Nova Scotia were displeased with the Stamp Act?"

A. "I thought it was true."

Secretary; "You had no right to think so. If you publish any more of such stuff you shall be punished. You may go, but remember you are not in New England."

Thomas; "I will, sir."¹⁷

Thomas afterwards published in Boston a paper called the Massachusetts Spy and in 1771 he became seriously involved with the government concerning an article (in the issue of Nov. 14,) signed Mucius Scævola, in which it was declared that Hutchinson was not the legal governor of the Province. Extracts from the Boston Evening Post and the Boston Gazette of Nov. 18, give an account of what occurred.

"We hear that at a council held at the Council Chamber last Saturday, a piece signed Mucius Scævola, published in the Massachusetts Spy of Nov. 14th, printed by Isaiah Thomas, was taken into consideration, when it was unanimously ordered, that the Attorney General be directed to prosecute the publisher thereof. It is said the piece referred to (from its nature and tendency) is the most daring production ever published in America."¹⁸

"On Friday last, in the afternoon, his Excellency the Governor laid before the Council for their advice thereon, a paper in the Massachusetts Spy of Thursday, signed Mucius Scævola, said to contain divers seditious expressions, &c. The council after debating till sundown adjourned till the next day, when they met again and sent for the printer, who in answer to the summons, told the messenger he was busy in his office, and should not attend; Upon which it is said a motion was made for his commitment to prison for contempt—but did not obtain. Whether the abundant lenity of the honourable, or from their having no legal authority in the case, has not yet transpired to us. The final result was,

¹⁷ B. F. Thomas, *Memoirs of J. Thomas*, p. 19.

¹⁸ *Boston Evening Post*.

their unanimous advice to the Governour to order the King's Attorney to prosecute the Printer at Common-Law.”¹⁹

Joseph Greenleaf, a justice of the peace for the county of Plymouth, being suspected of having some concern, either as a writer, or otherwise, in the Massachusetts Spy, received a summons of the purport following, which he laid before the public in the Spy of November 22, 1771.

“ Province of Massachusetts Bay—To Joseph Greenleaf, Esq., of Boston, in said province,—

“ You are required to appear before the Governor and Council, at the Council-chamber in Boston, on Tuesday the tenth day of December next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, then and there to be examined touching a certain paper called the Massachusetts Spy, published the fourteenth day of November, 1771; whereof you are not to fail at your peril. Dated at Boston, the 16th day of November, 1771. “ By order of the Governor, with the advice of Council,

THOMAS FLUCKER, *Secretary.*”

Greenleaf did not obey the summons, and on the twelfth of December following, the Boston News-Letter, (Court Gazette) contained the proceedings of the Governor and Council of the tenth of that month in consequence thereof, viz.

“ At a Council held at the Council-Chamber in Boston, Tuesday, December 10th, 1771.

“ His Excellency having acquainted the Board at their last meeting, that Joseph Greenleaf, Esq; a Justice of the Peace for the county of Plymouth, was generally reputed to be concerned with Isaiah Thomas, in printing and publishing a News-Paper, called the Massachusetts Spy, and the said Joseph Greenleaf having thereupon been summoned to attend the board on this day, in order to his examination touching the same, and not attending according to summons, it was thereupon unanimously advised, that the said Joseph Greenleaf be dismissed from the office of a Justice of the Peace, which advice was approved of and consented to by his Excellency, and the said Joseph Greenleaf is dismissed from the said office accordingly. “ A true copy from the minutes of Council.

THOMAS FLUCKER, *Secretary.*”

¹⁹ Boston Gazette.

A bill of indictment against Thomas for publishing an obnoxious libel was then prepared by the Attorney-General; the Chief Justice delivered a charge to the grand jury, in which he spoke of the intemperate and dangerous position of the press and the necessity for stopping the trouble before it assumed greater proportions; but the grand jury refused to indict. The court then directed the Attorney-General to file an information against Thomas, but such a storm of opposition arose from all quarters, on the ground that the rights and privileges of the individual were being destroyed, that the government reconsidered its position and decided that policy required that the matter be dropped.

Thomas then, to show that his position was not without precedent, reprinted in the issue of Oct. 10, 1772, from the Middlesex Journal²⁰ an address to the King, which was far more disloyal in tone and spirit, and yet which had passed unnoticed not only when published in England originally, but also when republished in New York. The Governor and Council attempted to take some action in reply, but failed, since no jury could be found to indict.

One more instance of oppression closes our account of the battle for the liberty of the press in Massachusetts. Benjamin Edes and John Gill published the "Boston Gazette and Country Journal," distinguished for its spirited political essays. Force's "American Archives"²¹ tells us that Gill in Sept. 1775 was imprisoned for twenty-nine days for printing sedition, treason, and rebellion. That the views of the publishers were revolutionary in their tenor may be judged from an article published in the Gazette commenting on an attack made on the printers of the *Centinel*; here is shown the boldness of the publishers in defense of the liberty of the press, even when that liberty was invaded by an attack on a political opponent.

"The attack made upon the printers of the *Centinel* on Saturday last, by a number of well-known persons, ought to excite the serious attention of all those, who duly regard the bulwark of our liberties, THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. If a printer for advertising that he intends to publish a certain book for the information, or merely the amusement or innocent diversion of his fellow-citizens, is to be beset and abused by a set of club-men, because the title-page does not happen to hit their taste, we may take a farewell of our independence, which we have gloriously

²⁰ Of England.

²¹ Vol. III, p. 712.

obtained, not without great expense of our treasure, and the loss of some of our best blood. A wound in so tender a point must surely prove fatal. Should the government appoint licensers of the Press, it would give just cause for offense. What right then, has any set of men, to forbid the printing of a book, till it has had their Imprimatur, or to punish a printer with club-law for advertising it?"

With the cases of Edes and Gill we reach the breaking out of the Revolution, the limit of our survey. The government had by this time become practically powerless in its attempts to control the press, for with the loss of the censorship, the only way in which it could act was through an indictment, and this required a jury friendly to the crown, something which was not at that time at all easy to obtain.

LIVINGSTON ROWE SCHUYLER

NEW YORK CITY

(To be continued.)

NOTICE

Binder for Vol. I., blue cloth, name in full gilt, will be sent postpaid for \$1. Any binder can put them on. Copies of the May frontispiece, large paper, \$1 each, postpaid.

BURLEIGH—AND JOHNSON'S ISLAND

(Concluded from May Number.)

POSSIBLY Colonel Hill's informant can be identified with one Smith, a former Confederate who kept at Windsor a hotel frequented by Southerners, and who, according to Edward A. Sowles' history of the St. Albans raid, on other occasions supplied the Federal authorities with similar information. Whoever he was, he visited Hill again Sunday with such further facts as to enable that officer to telegraph Monday:

DETROIT, September 19, 1864.

CAPT. J. C. CARTER, U. S. Navy:

It is said the parties will embark to-day at Malden on board the *Philo Parsons*, and will seize either that steamer or another running from Kelly's Island. Since my last dispatch, am again assured that officers and men have been bought by a man named Cole; a few men to be introduced on board under guise of friends of officers; an officer named Eddy to be drugged. Both Commodore Gardner and myself look upon the matter as serious.

B. H. HILL,

Lieut.-Col., U. S. Army,

Act'g Ass't Provost Marshal General.

Hill visited the Parsons early Monday morning, but after full consideration decided to let the plot proceed, if there were any plot, in order to effect the capture of the conspirators. Carter had telegraphed back Sunday that he was ready, but that the report of treachery on board the *Michigan* must be unfounded. On receiving the second telegram, he sent for Ensign Hunter, showed it to him, discussed with him the loyalty of the crew—Hunter vouching for all except one steward, whom he suspected of eavesdropping—and sent him ashore to arrest Cole, of whom Carter had apparently never heard before. Hunter found Cole at the West House with the woman, but he had paid his bill and was seemingly about to leave Sandusky. Cole had already sent a message aboard that he wanted to see Hunter, and he now explained that he wanted him and two other of the *Michigan*'s officers to attend a dinner party at a suburban

resort that evening. Hunter replied that he was to be on duty, and then on second thought suggested that Cole should go on board with him and arrange the matter with his superiors. Cole assented and ordered the inevitable drinks, but Hunter, mindful of the dispatch about drugging, made an excuse to avoid swallowing any whiskey until he had seen Cole drink out of the same bottle. Then he accompanied Cole to a bank, where Cole drew out \$900 in gold. On reaching the wharf, where the *Michigan*'s barge lay, with her bow headed out and her crew at their oars, Hunter gave Cole a push that landed him in the boat and called to the men to give way. Cole remonstrated vigorously, but Hunter told him he was a prisoner, and the coxswain dropped some derisive remark that caused the hitherto unabashed conspirator to subside. The arrest was managed in this way to avoid alarming any of Cole's accomplices, but a consequence has been that a tradition still exists in Sandusky that Cole was arrested on board the *Michigan*, where he was entertaining her officers at dinner. On reaching the ship he was taken to the cabin of the commander, who held a revolver to his head while Hunter searched him, finding among his papers his commission as a major in a Tennessee regiment. Upon Cole's admissions seven arrests were made in Sandusky. A young fellow named Robinson, who was little better than half witted, was detained with Cole until long after the war; of the other six, who were for the most part well known residents of Sandusky, four seem to have been speedily discharged, while an ineffectual attempt was made later to convict two, one Merrick and a Jew clothier named Rosenthal, on the evidence of Cole himself. If these men had any guilty secret they carried it with them to their graves, but the best opinion in Sandusky is that most of them, at any rate, had done nothing worse than imprudently to express their sympathy with the South, though the discovery is said to have been made afterwards that Rosenthal had come from Richmond directly to the Ohio city.

Cole was arrested at about 3 p. m., and the ship had already been cleared for action. A keen watch having been kept all night for the *Parsons* and nothing having been seen of her, in the morning the *Michigan* got under way and proceeded to Middle Bass Island, whose inhabitants kept out of sight, and there was nobody to take her line until the huge form of her pilot was recognized as an assurance that she was not in Rebel hands. Clerk Ashley and one of John Brown's sons, who had left his island home in a rowboat to carry the news to Sandusky, were picked up, but nothing could be learned of the *Parsons*, and the *Michigan* turned

back, some anxiety being felt as to what might be going on among the prisoners. On the way the sunken *Island Queen* was sighted on Chick-anolee Reef. It was with considerable relief that when the *Michigan* entered Sandusky Bay her officers descried the stars and stripes still waving over Johnson's Island. At the end of the month Cole, Robinson, and the woman were taken to Cleveland for examination by a grand jury, which apparently could not find sufficient evidence on which to indict them, for in the summer of 1865, an officer of the Department of Justice made a report on Cole's case, the gist of which was that while he was plainly guilty of several offenses, the least of which was a breach of his parole, there were serious difficulties in the way of his conviction of a share in the plot. Consequently he was removed to Fort Lafayette, where Maj. Stiles heard him coach the half imbecile Robinson, who was in deadly fear of him, as to the lies he should tell when their cases came to trial. In February, 1866, a Brooklyn judge released Cole on *habeas corpus* proceedings, and he thenceforth fades out of history, unless for once he deviated into the truth when he afterwards told Burr of the Philadelphia *Press* that he had served under Maximilian and had become a railroad promoter in Texas. Well-informed Galveston folk, however, profess ignorance of him.

Beall's fate was more tragic. On the evening of December 16, 1864, he was arrested in the railway station at Suspension Bridge on his return from a third unsuccessful attempt to wreck trains between Dunkirk and Buffalo, which he had undertaken in conjunction with Colonel Martin of the Fourteenth Kentucky Cavalry, the organizer of the conspiracy to burn New York City. With him was a young cavalryman, named Anderson, who afterward turned State's evidence against him, although, according to Judge Lucas, Beall's capture was due to his solicitude in Anderson's behalf, the other five men in the enterprise having, on Beall's advice, walked across Suspension Bridge in safety. Judge Lucas also maintains that the real purpose of the would-be trainwreckers was to effect the release of Generals Cabell and Marmaduke, and other officers who were being taken from Johnson's Island to Fort Warren that evening, but are we expected to believe that there were Confederate prisoners on both of the other trains against which attempts were made? A reasonable guess would be that Beall's purpose was, by wrecking an express car, to secure funds with which to organize other quasi-military operations on the border, for his general character forbids the assumption that his own enrichment was any part of his object. It is said that among those who

identified Beall was a woman passenger on the *Parsons* whom he had permitted, on account of the illness of her child, to remain on deck when all the others had been driven within doors, and that she in her ignorance of the true situation insisted on expressing her gratitude to him for having, as she said, saved her baby's life, and that he finally admitted his identity and asked after the child's welfare; but there was no difficulty in proving his connection with the *Parsons* affair. He was brought to trial January 20, 1865, on charges of violating the laws of war and acting as a spy, before a military commission of which Gen. Fitz Henry Warren was president, the trial taking place at Fort Lafayette and James T. Brady acting as the prisoner's counsel. The charges related solely to his participation in the Lake Erie raid and the attempt at train wrecking, and he was convicted, sentenced to death, and hanged on Governor's Island February 24, the gallows used on the occasion, singularly enough, being that on which Gordon, the only man ever put to death for slave trading, had suffered. Beall bore himself manfully, winning the respect of those who had him in charge, and the late Rev. Henry J. Van Dyke of Brooklyn, who visited him in his cell at Fort Columbus the day before the execution, in a letter to a Southern friend, praised his bearing in the highest terms and even spoke of him as a martyr. Once in awhile a story goes the rounds of the press that the assassination of Lincoln was caused by Booth's friendship for Beall and desire to avenge him, but the latter's friends denounce this as fiction and declare that the two men did not know each other and had nothing in common, except perhaps interest in the success of the South.

Burley's story is the most interesting of all. After the Lake Erie raid, he went to Guelph, Can., where, Judge Lucas says, he attracted attention to himself by experiments with ordnance or gunnery, which may be a delicate euphemism for Greek fire, for there is extant a letter written by him about this time making inquiries regarding the use of this incendiary material. He was arrested by the Canadian authorities, and the Recorder of Toronto ordered his extradition on charges of robbery preferred by the United States. The Washington authorities did not venture to charge piracy because some high British officials were pledged to the opinion that Lake Erie was not a sea, and were unwilling to admit that piracy could be committed on its waters. While the Attorney-General thought, with some hesitation, that Burley's extradition as a pirate might be asked, he advised that the charge should be robbery and assault to commit murder. Secretary Seward seems to have supposed—

for he so informed the British government—that the extradition charges actually included assault with intent to commit murder and piracy, but such was not the case. A twenty-dollar greenback, which was among the bills taken from Ashley by Beall and Burley, was selected upon which to base the accusation, the representative of the United States in the proceedings being Henry B. Brown, then Assistant United States Attorney for the Detroit district, now one of the justices of the Supreme Court. Burley's chief defense was his commission as an acting master in the Confederate navy, signed at Richmond, September 11, 1863, on which there was an endorsement dated Richmond, December 22, 1864, in the form of a proclamation by President Davis, declaring that the *Parsons* enterprise was a belligerent expedition ordered and undertaken under the authority of the Confederate government, and for which that government assumed responsibility. Upon *habeas corpus* proceedings there was a hearing before a higher court, the four judges uniting in a decision that Burley should be given up, the matters alleged in his defense being proper to submit to a jury. One of the judges remarked that the United States government would, in good faith, be bound to try the prisoner for the offense upon which he was surrendered. In his fear lest his son should actually be tried for piracy, Burley's father besought the intervention of the British government, and to the remonstrances of the Canadian Governor-General, Secretary Seward replied that the American authorities did not intend to proceed against their prisoner on such a charge, although he intimated they would be within their rights in doing so. It afterwards turned out that the law officers of the British crown had had this matter under consideration and had decided that "If the United States put him *bona fide* on his trial for the offense in respect of which he was given up, it would be difficult to question their right to put him upon his trial also for piracy, or any other offense which he might be accused of committing within their territory, whether or not such offense was a ground of extradition or even within the treaty." Eleven years later, the British government found itself compelled to repudiate this view by its law officers. It is a curious fact that the standard works on extradition, which give a good deal of space to the Burley case, go out of their way to say, on the authority of an English parliamentary document, that after Burley's trial in the United States he was released on small bail, left, and did not reappear.

What really did happen was very different. Burley was taken February 2, 1865, from Toronto to Detroit, where he was detained in

the House of Correction for some time while the authorities were making up their minds what course to pursue. July 10 he was brought, on board the *Philo Parsons* again, by way of Sandusky Bay to Port Clinton, the capital of Ottawa County, O., of which the waters where some at least of his offenses were committed, form a part. A week later he was brought to trial before the Court of Common Pleas, the Hon. John Fitch, of Toledo, presiding, on a charge of robbery committed upon the person of Walter O. Ashley, and not upon a charge of assault with intent to commit murder, as Secretary Fish asserted in the controversy over Winslow's extradition in 1876. Judge Fitch charged the jury that "a state of war (had) existed between the Federal Government and the Confederate Government, so-called, and it made no difference whether the United States Government admitted it or not." He held that the prisoner and other persons connected with him in the capture of the boat, acting for and under orders from the Confederate Government, would not be amenable to our civil tribunals for the offense, but that the taking of money from the clerk of the boat might or might not belong to and form a part of the expedition. If the parties who took the money intended to appropriate it to their own private use, then the prisoner would be guilty of the offense; but in carrying out the expedition the parties had the same right, in a military point of view, to take other articles of property, or even money, that they had to take the boat.

The jury disagreed, standing, according to one account, eight to four for his conviction, and according to another, six to six. Burley was returned to the jail, which was a very poor structure, permitting easy communication between the inmates and outsiders by way of the window. In time the sheriff, who lived in a part of the jail building, got to be on excellent terms with his prisoner and used to take him about town with him, the people of Port Clinton finding him excellent company. They handed his mail to him through the jail window, and the sheriff was thus unable to examine it. One Sunday noon in September, the sheriff, taking with him his wife, the hired man, and the maid servant, drove off to his farm, three miles away. In the evening the two servants were sent back to do the chores and feed Burley, who was the only prisoner. The jail was found vacant, Burley having in some way secured a key which let him into the sheriff's residence, from which he had escaped by a window. The fact that the open window was propped up by a limb from an adjacent tree showed that he had received help from outside. Sheriff Lattimore expended about \$100 in vain efforts to recapture the fugitive,

and ultimately one William Mulcahy of Bay Township acknowledged that he hid and cared for Burley for a week or two and finally took him disguised to Detroit and across the river to Windsor, expecting to be well rewarded for his services, but he never heard from Burley afterwards. Among the people generally, there was no regret that the adventurer had got away, and this feeling was especially marked in the case of the County Commissioners, who despaired of Burley's conviction and were tired of paying for his maintenance. The fact that the war was over and the people of the North, in the generous American fashion, were disposed to let bygones be bygones, probably had a good deal to do with this sentiment. When, later, the sheriff received a letter from Burley in Canada asking him to send him his books, having left a goodly number in his cell, the Commissioners advised him that if he could get any of his money back, he ought to do so. So the sheriff responded that if Burley would send him a certain amount, which he has now forgotten, the books would be forwarded. The money came, and the sheriff sent the books, thus closing the incident, except that the legal case against Burley is still open.

Forty years is a long stretch for men's memory to cover, and it is possible that in those parts of this story which have only this support, some inaccuracies may have been incorporated, but the writer is confident that, for the most part, the facts have been here set down as they occurred.

FREDERICK J. SHEPARD.

BUFFALO, N. Y.



THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DUZINE AT NEW PALTZ

IN various respects there is no place in our country that has a more interesting history than the little village of New Paltz, in Ulster county, N. Y., which was settled by a band of twelve Huguenots under a patent, covering a tract of about fifty thousand acres, which was granted by Governor Andros, of New York, in 1677.

There is no church, except that at New Paltz, which has still in perfect preservation and dating back two hundred and twenty-five years, its records in three languages—French, Dutch and English.

There is quite certainly no other place in our country in which the homesteads have come down from father to son to so great an extent, and for so long a period.

There are certainly few villages where the houses, built two centuries ago, have remained in the quaint beauty of their colonial architecture and never suffered from the torch of Indian warfare, nor the fury of the enemy in the Revolutionary struggle.

But with all these interesting characteristics, there is nothing about New Paltz quite so unique and remarkable as the government of the Duzine.¹ The Duzine consisted of twelve men, each a descendant of one of the original Patentees, and representing that Patentee in the Board. There was nothing like the government of the Duzine in any of the English settlements in America. The only parallel case was in another Huguenot settlement made in South Africa at about the same time.

The idea of the Duzine was not brought from France, but from the country where our Huguenot forefathers took refuge before coming to America—in the valley of the Rhine. But though the government of a village community by the heads of families is one of the most ancient and most natural forms of government, the commune, as it was called, no longer exists in the Rhine country and is probably unknown in civilized lands at the present day.

It was not until in 1728, just half a century after the settlement at New Paltz, that the government of the Duzine was instituted. At an earlier date, in 1683, we have the record of a meeting of the heads of families to organize a church, and in 1711 to take action in regard to

¹ Fr. *domaine*=twelve.

building a great fence about the settlement, and in reference to other matters.

At the outset, the settlers had labored together and cleared the land by common effort. They had doubtless put up the original log houses in the same way. In 1689 they had presented their schoolmaster, Jean Cottin, with a house and lot, and in their deed of gift to him, speak of themselves as "resident proprietors of the twelve parts of the village of New Paltz." There was, however, individual ownership of houses, home lots and pastures at an early date after the settlement. As early as 1693 we find a deed from Antoine Crispell to Hugo Freer, sen, for a pasture.

In 1703 such of the original Patentees as were then living, met and gave to each of the living Patentees and to the legal heirs of those who had died, their proportion of the cleared land in the Patent, as it had been divided by "parole," and a proper share of the undivided land.

It was not until 1728, a quarter of a century later, that the government of the Duzine was finally established. The population had increased and there were then twenty-four proprietors, all descendants of the original twelve men and all of these twenty-four signed the articles of agreement establishing the Duzine. The document creating the Duzine gives them authority to "Sett in Good Order and unity all Common Affairs, Business or things coming before them belonging to or concerning the Right, Title, Interest or Profit of the Township of New Paltz aforesaid, according to Law and Equity and to the best of their understanding." If the Duzine should disburse any money for expenses in defending the title to any portion of the Patent, the signers of the document agree to pay according to their respective rights. They are authorized to make further divisions of land by lot and to give title. The Duzine exercised not only the power of dividing land within the Patent, but held full control of the undivided land.

In 1729 they gave to Solomon DuBois and his brother, Lewis, who lived outside the Paltz Patent and had no share in it, the privilege of cutting grass on the commons in the same manner as if they were among the proprietors, and likewise "full power and authority at all times forever hereafter to cut down, load, have, take and carry away all manner of Timber, trees and stones standing . . . lying and being within any part of the Commons and without the fences and inclosures of any of the Inhabitants of the New Paltz aforesaid."

The Duzine were elected annually at town meeting by *viva voce*

vote, just before the poll opened. They had their by-laws, kept a record of their proceedings and had their book known as the "Common Book of the Duzine," which for a long period contained the most important records of the place. There were, besides the Duzine or Twelve Men, town officers at New Paltz, as elsewhere, and the town had its representative in the county Board of Supervisors. Nevertheless in their own field the Twelve Men exercised power of a legislative as well as of a judicial nature, and there was apparently never any appeal taken from their acts to the Colonial Government.

After a time the question of the legality of their action was raised. The opinion of learned lawyers differed on this point. Finally in 1785, shortly after the close of the Revolution, at the request of the New Paltz people, the legislature passed an act which, with the signature of John Jay as Governor, is preserved with other old records in the town clerk's office at New Paltz. It is entitled "An Act to Confirm the Several Partitions of Lands within the Patent at New Paltz in the county of Ulster." This document is drawn up at great length and one single sentence spreads over a column. It recites the original grant of the Patent from Governor Andros, and narrates the circumstances of the institution of the tribunal of the Twelve Men, then goes on to say that the Twelve Men believing themselves vested with authority for the purpose, had made divisions of the land in the Patent and no deeds for dividing the land in severalty had ever passed between the several persons interested; then the Act states further that the Twelve Men for the present year, fearing that litigation might ensue (although no controversy had as yet arisen), had petitioned the Legislature for an act to confirm their acts of land division. After reciting the history of the case at great length, the Act provides that the prayer of the petitioners be granted and the book in which these divisions of land had been recorded, should be left with the county clerk.

The Duzine continued to be chosen annually until 1824, though after the passage of this Act they exercised little authority except to settle disputes concerning divisions of land previously made.

To the New Paltz people of the present day, the Duzine and their deeds are only a matter of history. But we may judge that their impression upon the community still remains and conduces to peace and harmony, for lawsuits are almost unknown at New Paltz, and in the items of town expenditures even for the past year, not a single dollar is found recorded for constable's bills.

RALPH LEFEVRE.

NEW PALTZ, N. Y.

THE TRUE SIGNIFICANCE OF BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

[Address before the Bunker Hill Monument Association of Boston.]

THE day on which we meet and the name of this Association suggest my theme.

It has often occurred to me that we have become so familiar with the sight of the historic monument at Charlestown, and have read so often the story of the battle at Bunker Hill, that we fail to appreciate the truths of which it is a symbol.

I desire to speak of the Bunker Hill Monument as an emblem of a government established for the benefit of the governed rather than for the benefit of the governors, and as a symbol of successful resistance to interference with established rights, and as an instructor continuously reading to our people the lesson that freedom is not license, but that ours is a government of liberty under the guidance of law.

Look back for a moment on that awful struggle of the 17th of June, 1775, and tell me, were your ancestors and mine fighting in rebellion to England's lawful supremacy, or were they fighting in defence of established rights? In other words, were they rebels or were they patriots? If exclusive reliance for information be placed on certain textbooks given for the instruction of our youth, one would suppose that the American Revolution began with the Stamp Act of 1765 and ended with the peace of 1783, that the attempt of the British Parliament to enforce the Stamp Act so decidedly contravened the rights of the colonists that they instantly with one accord rose in resistance, and that after eight years of warfare they finally achieved their independence. But, in fact, the American Revolution began in Massachusetts about 1630 with the advent of John Winthrop and his band of Puritans. Its prime potent force was religious and ecclesiastical, and in time another force was added of a civil and political character.

If for a moment we admit the premise that the British Constitution could extend its jurisdiction so far as to cover the management of the internal affairs of the colonies, there seems to be but little ground for

resistance to Acts of Parliament as affecting them in distinction from the inhabitants of many other portions of the British realm. It is said James Otis at first took the position that Acts of Parliament were not binding on the colonies at all, but afterward retreated from this ground and conceded Parliamentary supremacy. Thomas Jefferson admitted that the question of right as between Parliament and the colonies was one upon which it is much easier to say who was wrong than who was right, and that it was extremely difficult to draw the line where the authority of Parliament commenced and where it closed. The popular political maxim, "no taxation without representation," in itself had no peculiar application to our colonies, while at the same time there were many large counties and towns in England which were without representation in Parliament, although they were egregiously taxed.

The fact is, the element of time was an important factor in the case of the colonies. It was John Adams who most strenuously insisted that the authority of Parliament did not extend over the internal affairs of the colonies except by the consent of the colonies, and he persistently held that the colonial charters had by lapse of time and by usage become colonial constitutions, and that the colonists were bound by allegiance to them in the management of their affairs, and that these constitutions had precedence over, and excluded all other authority of every kind.

We must remember that for more than a century these colonists had lived and developed under these their own constitutions. We must remember too that under these constitutions they had acquired certain political rights which were vital to their existence, and that the civil and religious freedom they had thus acquired were matters which they were bound to defend at the sacrifice of life and treasure. This was their position, and it changed the nature of things completely. This theory made the colonists defenders of their own rights against British interference, instead of being rebels against British authority. Treason was thus robbed of its odium, and the colonists were thus made patriots and defenders of constitutional liberty.

It should constantly be borne in mind that for more than four generations our people, practically a homogeneous people, had lived prosperously under self-government and home-rule. They educated themselves in the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship, and they knew that the privileges which they enjoyed brought burdens and sacrifices, but they were under no obligations to Great Britain, and they never

asked Parliament for any pecuniary aid or for assistance of any kind. This was the reason why Burke maintained that because Great Britain had "wisely neglected" the colonies so long, she had no right to interfere with them then. The colonists had their police system, their trials by jury, their mode of assessment for taxes, they sent their representatives to the General Court of the Province, and in nearly every way they exercised all the functions of free men living under a constitutional government of their own. They established the four great pillars on which the Republic rests to-day,—namely, the church, the schoolhouse, the town hall, and courts of justice,—and these institutions they were bound to defend. Hence when in 1774, by a series of Acts, Parliament attempted to substitute the "sovereignty of the King" for government by the people, the colonists said "No," and in this they felt they were right when judged by the laws of God and of man.

This doctrine changed the character of the contest which began in 1775, and made the War of the Revolution not a war of resistance to authority, but a war in defence of constitutional rights. It was not a rebel but Paul Revere the patriot, who flew like the wind in his perilous ride from the ocean to the inland town with his message of alarm one hundred and twenty-odd years ago. It was not a rebel but Captain Isaac Davis the patriot who kissed his wife and babies good-bye and said, "I haven't a man in my company who is afraid to go," and in less than three hours' time gave his life for freedom. It was not a rebel but Major John Buttrick the patriot, who shouted to his companions in arms, "Fire, for God's sake, fire now!" It was not a rebel, but a patriot, who "fired the shot heard round the world." It was not a rebel but Joseph Warren the patriot who fell on yonder hill exclaiming, "It is glorious to die for one's country." They were not rebels but patriots, your ancestors and mine, who suffered and sacrificed in Revolutionary times, for they suffered and sacrificed in defence of civil and religious rights, and hence we pay them tribute to-day.

But perhaps someone may claim it is a violation of propriety and good taste, now that friendly relations exist between England and America, to rehearse the story peculiar to this anniversary. The answer is that the universal recognition of the triumphs of the American doctrine and its wonderful results is the reason for this international comity. We as Americans acknowledge the compliment paid to America when royalty breaks bread with our ambassador in English ancestral halls. We are glad that English-speaking people can strike hands across the sea in

mutual friendship and good will, for it is an acknowledgment of victory in the struggle for civil and religious rights.

In the symbolism of the monument on Bunker Hill there is written not only a history of the past, but a message for the present. We shall do well to heed its accents. And while we listen let us remember that this is a land of liberty under the restraints of law. Civil liberty is not synonymous with license. This is not an hour for extravagant boasting, neither is it a time for pessimistic wailing. It is a moment for renewed consecration to the great American idea of freedom under the guidance of law. It is an easy thing to grow apprehensive by indulgence in gloomy forebodings, and it is also easy to let the imagination get the better of the judgment. But on a day like this it is well to remember that if we would keep America great in a moral and political sense, and have her the land of promises redeemed, our duty in season and out of season is to emphasize the necessity of guarding sacredly the ark of the covenant committed to our care. This land may be, as the fathers termed it, "an asylum for the oppressed," but it is not to be regarded either as a gigantic hospital, or as a labyrinthine reformatory for the shiftless overflow of regions beyond the sea. Welcome the stranger to the royal privilege of citizenship if you will, greet him as a man entitled to his inalienable rights including life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, regardless of his race or creed, but in some way make him avow in good faith his intent to become an American in spirit as well as in name. Teach him to be loyal always and forever to the symbolism of the American flag. Tell him this is a land of liberty regulated by law.

Yonder memorial shaft reminds us to-day that the government of the United States is founded upon order and law. It teaches us that the law must be obeyed by every man, no matter whether his station be brilliant or obscure. Furthermore, it teaches that no man can with impunity become a law-breaker, and although a man may think as he chooses to think, and cherish whatever opinions he may wish to cherish, he must at all times and in all places obey the law. Freedom regulated by law, this is the basis on which this country rests, and on this anniversary day it is well that all classes of people should be reminded of the fact.

This, it seems to me, is one of the lessons which the Monument bids us heed. It calls upon us to be loyal, consistent, faithful, and brave. The omens are auspicious, but there are stupendous problems to be solved. The corner-stone of the temple of our liberties was consecrated with the

blood of martyrs, and its walls were raised in the ecstasy of prayer. Let us beware lest some stealthy Sinon defile its altars and betray the mysteries of its inner chamber. If ever this Republic goes down in gloom, it will not happen because of the superior strength or strategy of a foreign foe, but because of the venom of some viper nestling in apparent security at its very heart. Washington, John Adams, Hamilton, and Patrick Henry stood for a national government based upon the fundamental idea of freedom under the guidance and restrictions of law. In the exercise of this principle America has risen to her unique position among the powers of the world. And in the exercise of this principle we fondly hope English-speaking people will some day bring the nations of the earth together under the ægis of civil and religious liberty, and cause them to realize in a positive degree the meaning of the poet's vision when he prayed for the "parliament of man, the federation of the world."

SOLON W. STEVENS.

LOWELL, MASS.



THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

[By the kindness of Mr. Charles F. Read, Clerk of the Bostonian Society, we are enabled to publish the following letter, which is owned by the Society and was read by Mr. R. at the annual meeting of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, at which time also Mr. Stevens' address was delivered. We publish also the remarks with which Mr. Read prefaced the reading of the letter.—Ed.]

THE letter which I have been asked to read to you is an interesting addition to the literature of the Revolution, and especially to that of Bunker Hill. It has been recently given to the Bostonian Society by Charles F. Sleeper, of Hyannis, Mass., formerly a resident of Boston, and a son of John S. Sleeper, at one time Mayor of Roxbury.

It was written August 10, 1775, by Rev. Thomas Barnard, Jr., of Salem, Mass., to a friend in England, whose identity we fail to discover, and contains a detailed and vivid description of the then recent battle of Bunker Hill, an account of the relations of the American colonies and the mother country, and a brief mention of the condition of the college¹ at Cambridge.

Rev. Thomas Barnard, Jr., the writer of this letter, was born in Newbury, Mass., February 5, 1748, and died in Salem, Mass., October 1, 1814. He was the son of Rev. Thomas Barnard, for many years pastor of the First Church of Salem, was graduated at Harvard College in 1766, and studied theology with Rev. Samuel Williams, of Bradford, Mass. He received in 1794 the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Brown College and Edinburgh University, and in 1789 preached the anniversary sermon before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston.

He was ordained in 1773, at the age of twenty-five years, as the first minister of the North Church, Salem, which had been organized the previous year, largely of disaffected members of his father's church. He continued its minister until his death.

Thomas Barnard was a Royalist at the beginning of the Revolution, and was, with other citizens of Salem, an addresser of Governor Thomas Hutchinson when Hutchinson went to England in 1775; but he soon

¹Harvard.

changed his political faith, and became a loyal supporter of the American colonies in their successful struggle for freedom.

He was prominent in the affair at the North Bridge, Salem, in 1775, when Colonel Leslie marched to the bridge from Marblehead with three hundred men to search for guns supposed to be on the other side of the river. Mr. Barnard is credited with having conciliated the commander; this saved bloodshed, and led to the turning back of the King's troops without accomplishing the object of the expedition.

Judge Samuel Curwen and Colonel Benjamin Pickman, who are mentioned in the postscript of the letter, were both members of Mr. Barnard's church, and were Tories of such a pronounced type that they lived in England during the Revolution.

Judge Curwen is well known by his published *Journal and Letters*, which he wrote while living in England, and which gives a vivid picture of social life there at the time of the Revolution.

Colonel Pickman, a member of a distinguished Salem family, was a merchant and man of affairs in political and social life.

Both Judge Curwen and Colonel Pickman returned to America after the Revolution, and passed their later years in their native land.

SALEM, *August 10, 1775.*

DEAR SIR:—Not only my promise enjoins me the present task, but my sincere esteem and regard for you renders it agreeable. Since you left us a much more important action has happened between the king's troops and our forces than that of Concord,—About seven weeks past in the evening, a detachment of the provincial troops consisting of about 1500 was ordered to Charlestown to entrench upon a hill just below Bunker's called Breed's hill, which was an advantageous situation for incommoding the ships which surrounded Boston. By daylight they had roughly compleated their works and were espied by the guards on board the *Lively* and intelligence was immediately forwarded to the General. About one that day there was an appearance of the military on the long wharf in town, and at two they embarked and landed at a small point just below Chelsea ferry.—After landing, a small party went over to Charlestown and set fire to the town and the rest divided into three columns advanced toward our entrenchment. When within musket shot they were received with an incessant fire which did amazing execution, but undaunted they still proceeded, and inspired with the intrepidity of their officers, they leaped the works and dislodged our people sword in hand.—But notwithstanding our countrymen were repulsed by superior numbers, yet never did men engage

with greater bravery: before they retreated they slew and wounded 82 officers and 7 or 800 hundred privates, and had they been properly reinforced, they would have maintained their ground and drove back the regular forces with amazing slaughter. Our loss, at most, comprehending killed and wounded & taken was not above (500) hundred.—Major Pitcairn & Col. Abercrombie, officers of distinction & great experience left amongst the dead.—Terrible indeed was that scene even at our distance. The western horizon in the day time was one huge body of smoak and in the evening a continued blaze and the perpetual sound of cannon and volleys of muskets worked up our disturbed imaginations to an high degree of fright.—The unhappy fate of Charlestown diffused melancholy over every countenance, and occasioned the tears of compassion to flow from every eye when it was considered how many families were deprived of all & sent naked into the world.

The destruction of Charlestown, however injudicious the marching of our troops to that hill might be, I cannot but look upon as wholly unjustifiable and such an act of inhumanity as would disgrace an Alexander, for our troops were wholly separated from that town.—That General Gage would give orders for the firing of towns when the marching of his troops was incommoded by the standing of the houses, I ever expected, but that he or any other Commander should order the destruction of a town when its continuance was noways inconvenient or dangerous to his men, appears so deliberately & wantonly cruel, as at once to awaken my indignation.—Upon our people's leaving Breed's Hill they retreated to Winter and Prospect hill, which is on the right of the stone house as you go to Cambridge on both which eminences they have strongly entrenched. The King's troops likewise have strongly fortified Bunker Hill.—Both armies have stood and looked at each other ever since and no action of any consequence has happened. Never, I believe were the king's troops in such an hazardous & ignominious situation as they are at present. Surrounded on all sides by a potent army, they are confined to Boston and Charlestown and dare not for fear of immediate destruction shew themselves beyond their breast works. Without the conveniences of life, being wholly destitute of fresh meat and roots, they are daily weakening, and what will be the consequence of the approaching sickly season and the approaching winter, in which they will need so necessary an article as fire wood, I know not.—Every cutter almost, which they have sent to our Eastern shore for fuel, has been seized and their men detained as prisoners.—The islands in the harbor under their eye have been stript of their produce, and the light house, the light of their ships, has been by adventurous parties of our men burnt twice, & the latter time many prisoners were taken. A fatality seems to attend all their manœuvres.—They have lost at the most moderate computation treble our number, and our jails are stocked with prisoners we have taken from them, while they have but twenty of ours. The Admiral its true rides in some degree triumphant at sea and seizes all our West India vessels &c which come in his way, but still many escape, so that notwithstanding his utmost efforts we are yet well supplied with West India goods, and if you will believe me,

with ammunition, to hinder the importation of which, the ministry have been unweared in their endeavors.—The opposition here to the claims of the British parliament & Court is truly respectable and ought to be viewed in a very serious light.—The union of the Colonies is now compleat. Georgia and New York, notwithstanding the fond expectations of the ministry, have now openly declared against them, and heartily join in opposition to them.—The forces assembled at Cambridge are termed by the Continental Congress "The forces of the twelve united Colonies in America," and the superior officers, amongst whom General Washington and Lee rank first, are appointed by them and the expense is to be common.—General Carlton is able to make no head with the French & Indians.—They positively refuse to join him, and I doubt not you will soon hear our forces have entered that Province with the consent of all its inhabitants except the Signeur & Noblesse. Distinctions are daily ceasing amongst us, and a fixed determination seems to pervade the extended continent, to risk the utmost consequences, rather than to submit to the impolitic and inequitable claims of the British parliament.—I have been as you know seriously against driving matters to the present extremities, and have rendered myself not a little odious by bucking the high spirits of my countrymen impatient of control. But I never was so, because I approved of the measures of the ministry, but because I hoped moderate measures would serve much more directly to procure us what we wished, an amiable settlement upon principles friendly to both parts of the empire, than violent ones; & because I was suspicious that union would be wanting, which would only render our opposition respectable. But now I behold the whole continent seriously embarked in the same cause, and I am convinced those in power have never indulged a thot of accommodating upon equitable terms, but are obstinately bent upon our entire submission. I cant but say I hope the opposition will continue until there is a lasting settlement upon constitutional principles.—My sincere prayer to the Supreme disposer of events, whose prerogative alone is to bring good out of evil, is that he would cause our present civil convulsions to issue in the establishment of the liberty and happiness of each part of the British empire, and the perpetuating that union which every Briton & every American ought most sincerely to wish for. Britain has long been the envy and terror of the different states in Europe, but the extent and wealth of her colonies have not a little contributed to render her so considerable in the view of those around her. Dismembered from them, she would no longer be so important or have such mighty influence.—Now in my opinion is the important crisis, which will determine whether Britain shall maintain the respectable rank amongst the nations she has done or not.—An accommodation upon terms which shall preserve to each part of the empire its respective honors & immunities is I am convinced the utmost wish of our countrymen.—They cherish no desires of independence, but only those of living united with that power upon which they have ever looked with the reverence and respect of a parent.—But if parliament should determine to pursue the same plan and allow them no alternative but absolute submission or the desolations of war, all respectable ideas of the power which scourges them will vanish,

they will pursue their opposition to the last extremity and I am afraid disconnect themselves from Great Britain forever.—Those on both sides the question who have been instrumental of bringing our affairs to the present unhappy situation are inexcusable.—Governor Hutchinson, whom I once looked up to with respectful veneration, and to compliment whom upon his departure from us, I exposed myself to the resentment of my countrymen, I cannot but now view in a disagreeable light.—By authentic letters of his, published since you left us, it appears not only that he was in the plans of the ministry, but in some measure the author of them and that often when they grew suspicious of their success and relaxed, he was the instrument of rousing them to action. I once thought, and suppose in general it will be thought in England, the Americans cannot for any length of time continue their opposition. How can an expensive war be continued without money the sinew of war?—A paper currency is now issued amongst us, and for the present answers all the need we have of silver and gold. Thus I have given you an account of our present situation in the sincerity of my heart, and hope this detail of facts will enable you to convince those with whom you have any connection, that the situation of our affairs at this time tends to national ruin, and engage them to exert their influence to bring about an accommodation which I ardently wish may take place.—Thus much for political matters.

You will now be anxious to know the situation of our College affairs. The degrees were given by your friend the President to the candidates a week or two past, and I am told, as the public buildings are still occupied as barracks, that the Governors of that Society are about fixing upon a proper place for the continuance of instruction, but upon what spot they place their attention I know not. Your friends Wadsworth and Gannett still continue at Cambridge lamenting the unhappy & degraded state of the Muses, while Hall with his harsh aspiring turn of mind, enjoys with great pleasure the present times.

Your family is quietly fixed in our town. The gloom which at first overspread their minds is somewhat abated, and they appear to enjoy themselves tolerably.—I hope your passage was pleasant & that your situation is so now.—Mrs. Barnard, who wishes you prosperity, presents her compliments.—With expectations of hearing from you the first opportunity I conclude,

Yours most sincerely,
T. BARNARD, Jun.

P. S.—Please to present my sincere regard to Mr. Curwen and Col. Pickman, and tell them their friends are well, and that they will soon hear from me.

LETTER OF CAPTAIN RIGHT HON. FRANCIS
LORD RAWDON

HARVARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, June 16.

To the Bunker Hill Monument Association:

I ENCLOSE a copy of a letter which has lately come into the possession of the Harvard Library, which you may find interesting enough to read at the meeting, and are welcome to print.

It has come to us from Mrs. C. I. Rice, a great-granddaughter of a brother of the "Hamilton" to whom it is addressed. This was Henry Hamilton, at the time this letter was written lieutenant-governor of Detroit, whence he was three years later to lead the expedition which forced its way up the Maumee and down the Wabash, and captured Vincennes without a blow December 17, 1778, to be in turn dislodged two months later by Captain George Rogers Clark.

The reference to the employment of Indians is interesting in view of the fact that Hamilton was known as "Hair-buying Hamilton," and was believed to have offered to the Indians rewards for scalps rather than for prisoners. Hamilton's own papers, however, which have lately come into our possession, give no ground, so far as I know, for believing that the charge is well founded.

The writer of the letter was the Right Hon. Francis Lord Rawdon, a captain of the 63d Regiment, who had been distinguished for his gallantry at the Battle of Bunker Hill, and who became in 1778 the Adjutant-General of the British forces in America. At the Battle of Camden he commanded the left division on the British side. The "National Dictionary of Biography" says that he "was a stern martinet, and was guilty of several acts of impolitic severity during the American War." After his return to England, he was prominent in political affairs, and was the friend and confidant of the Prince of Wales. At the death of his father in 1793, he became second Earl of Moira, and was afterwards created first Marquis of Hastings. From 1812 to 1821 he was Governor-General of Bengal and commander-in-chief of the forces in India. After retiring from his Indian position, he was appointed Governor of Malta in 1824, and died in 1826.

Cuyler, Williamson, and Roberts, whose compliments he sends, are all officers whose names appear in General Howe's orderly book. The first was Captain Cornelius Cuyler, of the 46th Regiment, who was appointed Major of the 52d Regiment, May 15, 1776.

Williamson seems to have been Sergeant Williamson of the 4th Regiment, who acted as Quartermaster to the 1st Battalion of Grenadiers.

Roberts was a Captain-Lieutenant of the 65th Regiment, who died before September 30, 1775.

The reference at the opening of the letter is to "*The New England Chronicle: or, Essex Gazette.* Printed by Samuel and Ebenezer Hall at their office in Stoughton-hall, Harvard-College." The issue of August 17, 1775, mentions the capture of Captain Patrick Sinclair, Lieutenant-Governor and Superintendent of Michilimackinac, who had lately arrived from North Britain at some point in Maryland; while the paper of July 21, after giving an account of the demonstration on Prospect Hill when the "Declaration" of Congress was read to the troops, adds "And the Philistines on Bunker's Hill heard the Shout of the Israelites, and being very fearful, paraded themselves in Battle Array."

Very truly yours,
WILLIAM C. LANE.

CAMP ON THE HEIGHTS OF CHARLESTOWN, *Septr 6th 1775.*

I was sincerely happy to hear from you my dear Hamilton; the more so as I see by the Cambridge Paper that his Excellency the Lieut. Governor of Michilimackinac is in the hands of the Israelites. By the bye don't you think they have been wonderfully judicious in adopting that appellation? For my part I think it becomes them marvellously well, for all writers (themselves excepted) seem to agree that the Jews were the most despicable, as well as infamous Mob, that ever pretended to call themselves a nation. After saying this, I need not enter into a detail of my sentiments concerning the cause in which we are engaged. I will only assure you that it would not have grieved me a little had you fallen into the hands of such & scoundrels. The rascality of their behavior enrages me more & more against them every day. The infamous falsehoods they circulate in their papers, which we sometimes see, relative to the behaviour of our Army or Navy, fill me with indignation. To deprecate the merit of an Enemy is ever the mark of a mean & timid soul; their cunning in this has overreached itself. If they deny that we have behaved with courage, it only augments the shame of their defeat. They must necessarily be Cæsars, who were chased like a flock of sheep by a pack of Cowards not amounting to a third part of their number! They have now forgot that

trimming; & to show how *bauld* [bold] they feel, they divert themselves all day long with firing at our centries or outposts; & tho' they have only wounded one man for these two months past, they have given an account in their papers of their having received information from very intelligent deserters that they have killed & wounded above seventy private, besides officers. These misrepresentations may perhaps inflame the spirits of the lower class against the troops, but they will have a most pernicious effect in the end. They cannot fail to irritate the minds of both the Men & Officers against the Rebels, in such a manner that when the day of reckoning comes (& it will come) much more blood will be shed than will be necessary to decide the fortune of the day. By what I have seen, I am sure that it must be difficult to curb the fury of victorious troops even against a generous enemy; it is easy then to foresee what must be the consequences when our men are let slip against a parcel of wretches whom they hate & despise, when no Officer will interpose to rescue the Victims from their Rage. It is with great pleasure I inform you that on the 17th of June I did not see any instance of cruelty in our men, on the contrary, much forbearance. How it may be hereafter I can't say. Our men are healthy, & very eager for another oportunity of shewing the difference between British & American Courage. I suppose there never were a set of Officers so orderly as ours are: I have not seen a single instance of either gaming or drinking since I came here. But under such a General as Howe, every thing must go right. The Rebels stand in great awe of his name, & faith they have reason. The troops love & confide in him, & his example inspires every soul with courage. You say the Indians are ready to march under General Carlton! I am glad of it; but hope they will not be used. They may commit ravages which we shall deplore, tho' it is our bitterest enemies that will suffer them. Adieu. I'm in a great hurry as you will have perceived, for the ship sails to-day. If we meet again we shall meet merrily; if not, the survivor shall pour a frequent sigh to the memory of his friend.

Yours
RAWDON.

Capt Cuyler desires his compliments as do Williamson, — & Roberts.



ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF WASHINGTON TO GOV. GEORGE CLINTON

[At this time the latter was greatly burdened with the defence of New York's frontier against Johnson, Brant, and the Indians, and with the provisioning of the various posts.]

HEAD QRS. SPRINGFIELD [N. J.], *June 20th, 1780.*

D. SIR

I had this morning the honor to receive Your Favor of the 13th Instant. I thank Your Excellency for your attention to my request, for the return of General Clinton & his Troops—and flatter myself they are before this at or well on their way to West Point. The measures taken for ensuring the supply of provisions to Fort Schuyler¹ were certainly very proper. It was an object I had very much at heart, and I wish the quantity forwarded had been greater.

I am much concerned at the dissatisfaction and spirit of which I find prevailing in Colo Vanschaick's Regiment at Fort Schuyler. Your Excellency will have been fully informed on this head and therefore I will not add any particulars with respect to it. It is much my wish that the Troops of the Garrison should be relieved and it may be the more material to do it, from the disposition in which they are, it cannot however be done by the Continental Troops without manifest injury under our present circumstances and prospect. I would therefore propose and hope that the plan concerted heretofore between Your Excellency and Myself, for sending a part of the Officers & men raised by the State for Frontier service, may take effect and a number be sent for the defence of the post, which will still remain under the command of Lt Colo Vandyck.

I am exceedingly happy in Your Excellency's safe return, and am sorry You should have thought it material, either to give me a detail account of your proceedings after Sir John² or having done it, that any apology was necessary for the favor or for the result of the expedition. You have only to regret that all you wished did not happen; but your zeal and your active judicious exertions must convince every body more fully as they do me, that all that was practicable & more than could have been expected, was done by you to accomplish the ruin of himself and party. I hope the rapid manner in which the Enemy were pursued & forced to retreat will be attended with all due consequence.

You will have heard & will soon by the papers the fate of Charles² Town. On Friday afternoon of Saturday between Sixty and Seventy of the Enemy's Vessels came into the Hook. It was a fleet from South Carolina and according to the accounts I have received it is said they have brought from four to Six Thousand Troops. Sir Henry Clinton from information obtained just now through Two channels, has returned himself.

I have the Honor to be with the most perfect esteem & respect
 Yr. Excellency's
 Most obd yrs.
 G. WASHINGTON.

¹ Now Utica, N. Y.

² Sir John Johnson.

³ General Lincoln had just been obliged to surrender Charleston.

LETTER FROM BISHOP SAMUEL PROVOOST, OF NEW YORK, TO
 HIS BROTHER

[Written not long after the battle of Bunker Hill. Valuable not only because his letters are very rare, but as one of the earliest contemporary mentions of Washington as a leader. The Bishop was an ardent Whig, and Low Churchman, as opposed to Bishop Seabury, who was both a Tory and a High Churchman. It is written on two pages of a small blankbook, full of manuscript sermons, and is apparently a copy of the original. The brother was apparently in Ireland, although there is no address. No place or date is given by the writer.]

DEAR BROTHER,

I suppose you interest yourself a little in the fate of this country, and am therefore sorry that my distance from town and the uncertainty of opportunities for Ireland puts it out of my power to write news that you will not be acquainted with before you receive my letters. The late iniquitous acts of Parliament, and the sanguinary measures taken to enforce them have induced the different provinces to unite firmly for their common defence—each province has its separate provincial Congress, intended to enforce its resolves and to be subject to the controul of the grand Continental congress which sits at Philadelphia.

An association has been formed and signed¹ by an incredible number of people, to support in the measures of these Congresses, never to submit

to slavery, but to venture our lives and property in the defence of our Liberty and Country. Gentlemen of approved abilities are appointed to take command of our forces—as Col. Hall has, I think, served in America and may be able to give you their character, I shall send a few of their . . . (characteristics). Col. Washington, a gentleman of Virginia, of considerable property, most respectable, and who behaved very gallantly in many engagements last war, is appointed Commander in Chief of our Army. Col. Lee has given up his half pay and accepted of a commission of Major-General in the American service. Horatio Gates, formerly as I think a Major in the English pay, is appointed Adjutant General. Captain Montgomery,² an Irishman, brother to the Countess of——and our near neighbor in the Country, is brigadier-general of the New York forces—and—Fleming, formerly adjutant to the 16th. Reg't which was quartered a few years ago at Cork, is a Lieut. Col—the other general officers are mostly of this country. There are so many thousands in this . . .

General Gage has had two engagements with the people of New England in which his men have been so roughly handled that they have thought proper to remain quiet for some weeks past. It is reported that there was about a thousand officers and soldiers killed in the last engagement,³ in which the loss of the provincials was but inconsiderable.

. . . Your aff't Broth'r

SAM'L PROVOOST.

¹ This was the Declaration of Independence.

² Richard Montgomery, killed at Quebec.

³ Bunker Hill.



ERRATA.

Greatly to our regret, one name was omitted from Mr. Kimball's list of the dead of Patriot's Day, printed in our April issue, and we wish now to add it, viz.:

Caleb Harrington, aged 25, was killed west of the meetinghouse, near Lexington Common, at 5 A. M. He was of Lexington, and was buried on the Common.

In the letter of Col. Barnard Beekman, printed in our May number, the printer got things mixed, making "C. S. A." follow his name, instead of "South Carolina Artillery," the correct designation. The newspaper clipping about John Paul Jones' flag, in the same number, was also inserted by mistake; it was intended to print only the reference to the two relics of his fight; every one knows—or should know—that Paul Jones' flag went down with the *Bon Homme Richard*, and that the history of the one now in Washington is at the best obscure.

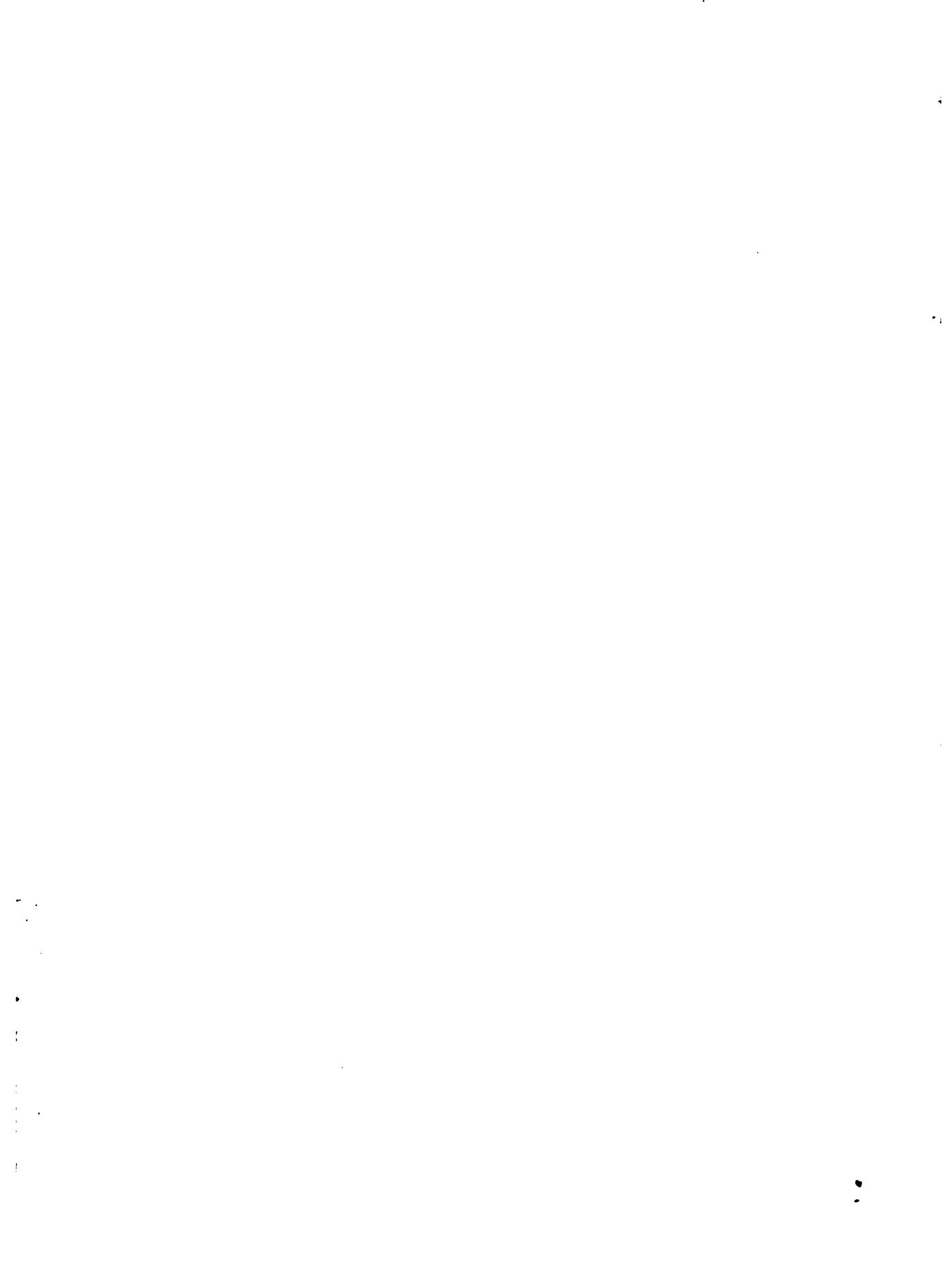
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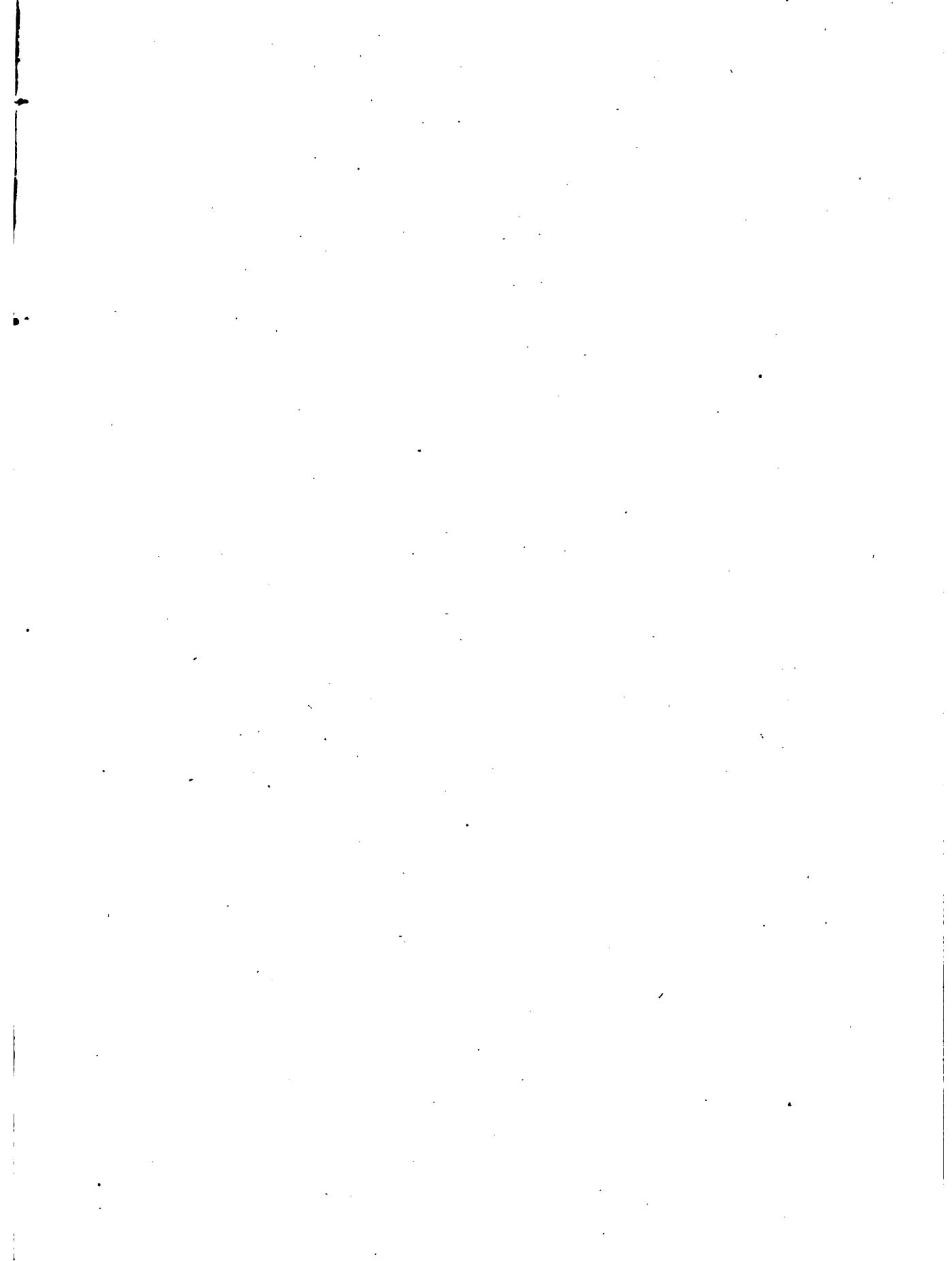
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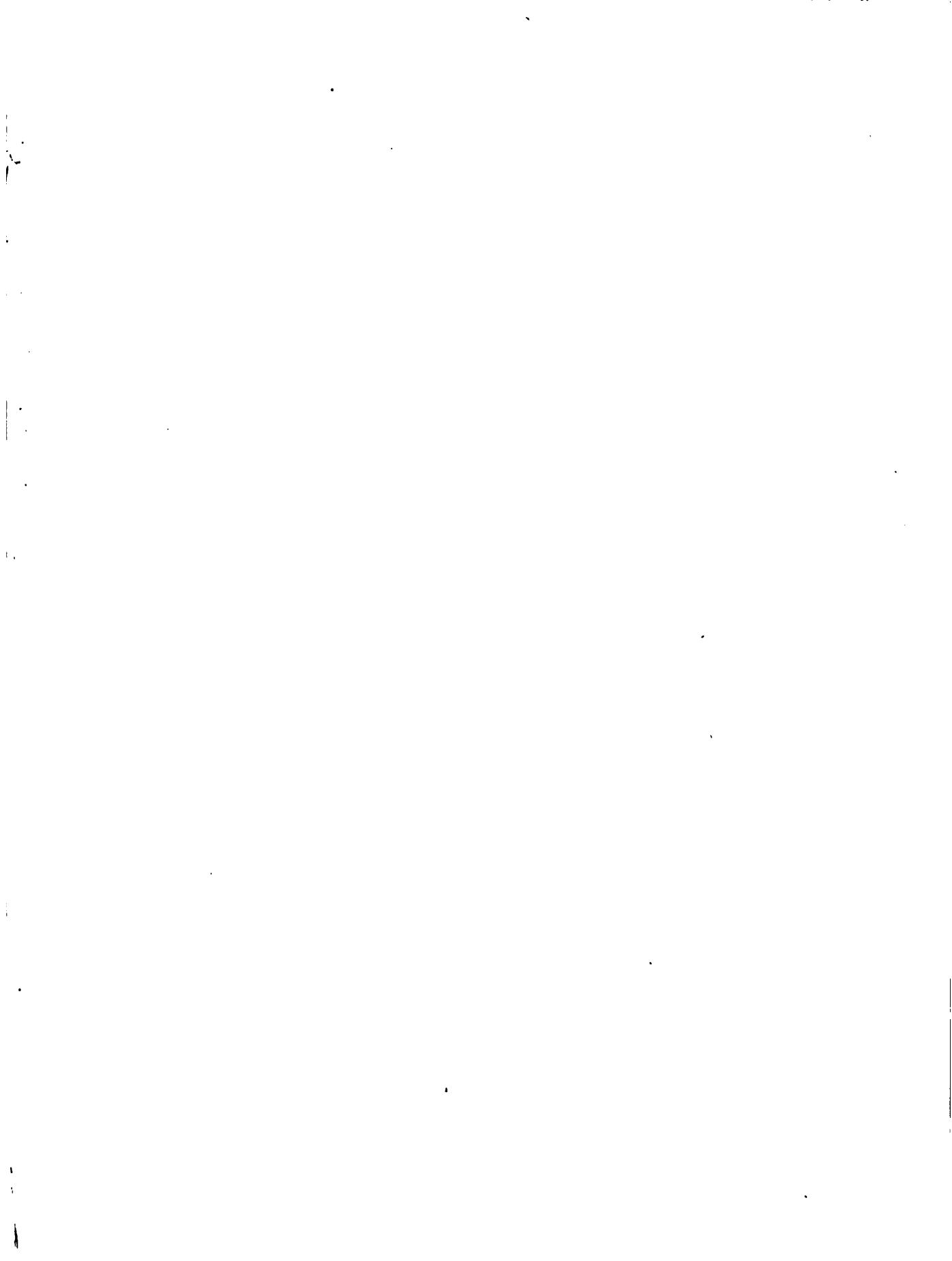
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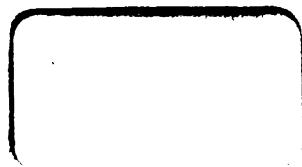


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